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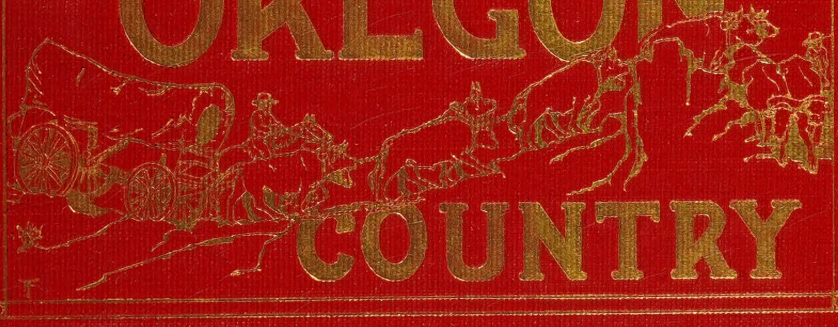

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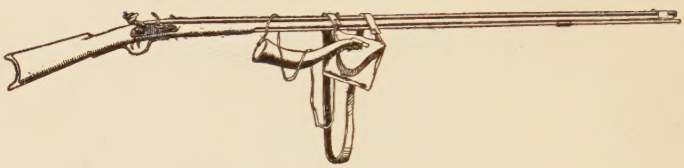

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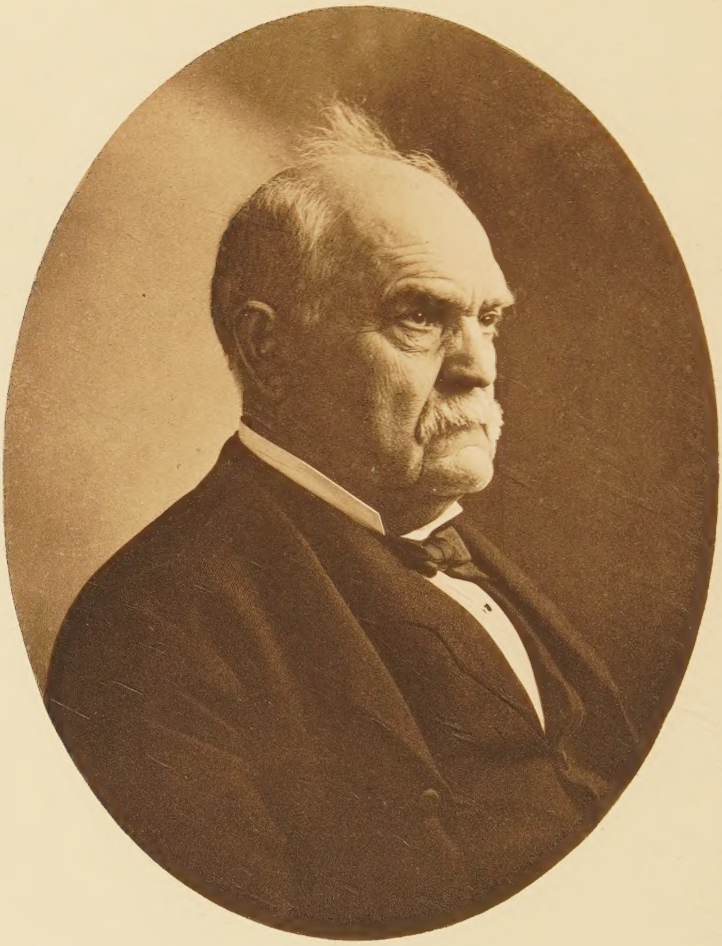

J. P. W. Scott.

HISTORY OF
THE OREGON COUNTRY

By HARVEY W. SCOTT

FORTY YEARS EDITOR OF THE

Morning Oregonian

COMPILED

By LESLIE M. SCOTT

IN SIX VOLUMES

VOLUME I

CAMBRIDGE

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COMPILER'S PREFACE

The late Harvey W. Scott wrote copiously upon detached episodes of Pacific Northwest history, in the course of his forty-five years of newspaper work. He also wrote frequent narratives of exploration and pioneer settlement, either for public addresses or for current publication. But his life was so fully occupied with business affairs and literary studies that he did not apply himself to the writing of a consecutive history, although urged to the task by the public need of it, by his peculiar qualifications to do the work and by his constant desire to render service to the people of the Pacific Northwest. The lack of such a consecutive history from the hand of Mr. Scott, pioneer, scholar and writer that he was, is widely regretted. But his frequent narratives and commentaries cover the range of the history so fully, that their publication in this series of volumes may well take the place of such a work.

These volumes are compiled with the desire to preserve for future uses the best and most permanent of Mr. Scott's subject-matter. The compiler has endeavored to present the writings in effective sequence, both topical and chronological. In order to add to the value and clearness of Mr. Scott's text, the compiler has contributed copious footnotes and appendices, the material of which he gained from contemporary newspaper files and many historical sources. The compiler's examination of newspaper files, seeking the articles by Mr. Scott and contemporary information, consumed twelve years of intensive reading.

Mr. Scott came to the Pacific Northwest, in 1852, from Illinois, "across the plains" by the ox-team route, as a lad of fourteen years. His travels throughout this part of the country afforded him intimate knowledge of the topography, industries and people, and his long-continued activities as reader, writer and man of affairs made him closely familiar with the annals. In the course of his forty-five

years of newspaper service he came in contact with all currents of activity, industrial and political. Being a wide reader and a deep student of universal history and world affairs, he applied to his observations of Pacific Northwest matters a discerning judgment, that gives to his writings authority for future reference. But slight changes in the text of the writings are made. Mr. Scott always worked for accuracy, so that few corrections have been necessary.

The topical arrangement of Mr. Scott's writings in this compilation, obviously, is not the time sequence of his authorship. His treatment of subjects of Pacific Northwest history, in newspaper articles and public addresses, did not pursue a comprehensive theme suitable for this publication. He wrote reviews, as of the steps in the acquisition of the Oregon Country, but, for the most part, he treated distinct phases and episodes of the history. This matter the compiler has classified according to topical treatment of the events, without regard to the sequence in time of Mr. Scott's authorship.

It may be understood that Mr. Scott was under the necessity of writing in this manner; newspaper space required it, and the time allowed for public addresses did likewise, although in the latter he availed himself of the opportunity for longer discourse. The necessities of accuracy impelled him to write his public addresses on these subjects in advance; and his extemporaneous interpolations, which were frequent, he always inserted in writing afterwards, if valuable to the theme. These narratives appeared in *The Oregonian*, usually next day, and he edited the newspaper proofs with much care and industry, before he would permit the matter to be permanently recorded in print.

The plan of these volumes, following that of a progressive historical narrative, induced the compiler, after long contemplation of the materials, to divide Mr. Scott's longer writings into parts corresponding with the subject classification. This will explain the appearance of those parts in separate divisions of this book. In all such cases, the compiler has preserved the identity with footnote references.

The first two volumes, on subjects of discovery, exploration, pioneer settlement and Indian affairs, contain but a small number of Mr. Scott's copious writings on these matters of Pacific Northwest history. The full writings would make many volumes and numerous repetitions. The work of gathering the materials, of sifting and compressing them, of verification, annotation and appendix amplification, has been a long and exacting one. The compiler cannot presume to attain, in his part of this book, the quality and accuracy that were characteristics of Mr. Scott's. The personal impulse to publish this work comes from the compiler's filial regard for his father — a man whose fame, as a distinguished editor and leader of public thought, was secondary, in the family circle, to the devotions of parental affection.

The compiler has made numerous references, in footnotes and appendices, to other publications, and offers them, not with effort at encyclopedic detail nor as exhaustive in their scope, but as coming within his reading of chief and corollary subjects for contributory additions. The original purpose in these references was to make them chiefly from the files of *The Oregonian*. But the other, or secondary references, grew with the compiler's researches, and he arrived at the opinion that they will enhance the value of *The Oregonian* citations. Many of Mr. Scott's historical writings were contemporaneous with the publication of the references by that newspaper. The references from *The Oregonian* are due directly to his editorship, and, therefore, may be regarded as auxiliary parts of his contributions to Oregon and Washington history. Early files of *The Oregonian* are in the office of that newspaper, in the Portland, Oregon, Library and in the Oregon Historical Society; later files, in the Oregon State Library, the University of Oregon and numerous other libraries of the Pacific Northwest, as well as in the places first named.

The Compiler's Appendix, in the first volume, contains several articles on pioneer subjects, written by sisters of Mr. Scott: Catharine Amanda Coburn, Abigail Jane Duniway and Sarah Maria Kelty. As members of the Scott family that came to Oregon, in

1852, by the ox-team route from Illinois, and as accomplished writers, they made interesting contributions to *The Oregonian* on subjects germane to this publication. One of Mrs. Coburn's included writings narrates the life of pioneer women in Oregon; another tells a story of the Scott family journey "across the plains." An article by Mrs. Duniway also treats of this journey; also a narrative based upon the diary written by Mrs. Duniway and by the father of the family, John Tucker Scott. Mrs. Kelty's narrative deals with the journey from Peoria, Illinois, in 1839–40, of members of the Peoria party, including Amos Cook, who was an early settler of Yamhill County, Oregon, and whose widow, Mary Frances, is a sister of Mrs. Kelty and the other Scott family members herein named. These writings, supplementary to Mr. Scott's writings, he edited for *The Oregonian,* excepting the "plains" narrative. He valued them as contributions to the history of the pioneers, and the compiler thinks them worthy additions to this work.

The acquisition of the Oregon Country, by discovery, exploration, settlement and diplomacy, afforded the United States the first national foothold on the Pacific side of America. Each step in the acquisition presented episodes peculiar to the history of the American republic. The Oregon Country was a national prize, the most farseeing vision of which was Thomas Jefferson's. Missionaries and settlers, enforcing American sovereignty, brought to diplomatic fruition the claims created by discovery and exploration. Harvey W. Scott was a product of the pioneer migration movement, which peopled the Mississippi and Ohio valleys, and began reaching out to Oregon about the year 1840.

The compiler has chosen, as the title of this work, *History of the Oregon Country,* because the writings of Mr. Scott and the accompanying other materials refer to the region originally known as the "Oregon Country." This region includes all of the modern states of Oregon, Washington and Idaho, and those parts of Montana and Wyoming that are tributary to drainage of Columbia River, which was formerly called "Oregon River," or "River of

the West." This area was finally secured to the United States in 1846, by treaty with Great Britain, and the northern boundary then was fixed at 49 degrees of latitude. Claims of the United States had extended north from California (42 degrees), as far as 54 degrees and 40 minutes (south limit of Alaska), and west of the continental divide of Rocky Mountains. The state of Oregon comprises about one-third of the Oregon Country of 1846. The newspaper which Mr. Scott edited for forty years, *The Oregonian*, became the largest medium of news and opinion in this great region. This newspaper, a leading chronicler of the history of the Oregon Country, had Mr. Scott as the directing head of this service during a long and active period. The compiler, after mature deliberation, and advice from others, has adopted the title of this book as befitting both the writings of Mr. Scott and the spirit of the Oregon Country.

Acknowledgments are due, from the compiler, to many persons for generous assistance. Mr. T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla, Washington, has aided, in countless ways, the verification and amplification of materials of the footnotes and the Compiler's Appendix, and has given much valuable criticism, and suggestion in the reading of proofs. Mr. George H. Himes, curator of the Oregon Historical Society, has afforded the full use of the society's facilities, has contributed much matter for the Compiler's Appendix and has supplied many of the references of this work. Professor Edmond S. Meany, of the University of Washington, has contributed freely for references on Indian names of Washington. Mr. Alfred Holman, editor of the San Francisco *Argonaut*, many years an associate of Mr. Scott's, has written the leading article of the introduction, narrating the life and work of Mr. Scott. Mr. William S. Lewis, of Spokane, Washington, has afforded materials liberally, read proofs and given photographs for illustrations. Mr. Ernest Bross, late editor of the Indianapolis *Star*, formerly managing editor of *The Oregonian*, gave much aid in the selection of Mr. Scott's writings. The compiler owes especial acknowledgment to Anna Fearnside Eastham, of Vancouver, Washington, whose mother was a sister of

Mr. Scott's, for patient reading of copy and proofs, and for many constructive suggestions. Miss Ruth E. Rockwood, head of the reference department of the Portland Library, has given many suggestions for the index, and has aided the compiler's reference researches. Mr. David W. Hazen, of *The Portland Telegram*, has given the compiler many ideas for the illustrations and frequent advice on other matters.

As a reference index of this work, the compiler has prepared the matter of the sixth volume. In this index is contained what otherwise would be called a bibliography, being a list, in alphabetical order, of the publications and authors cited or quoted as references. The full titles of such publications will be found in the index, whereas such titles elsewhere in this work, for purposes of brevity, are frequently abbreviated. Likewise names of persons and places will be found amplified in the index. Owing to the frequent mention of similar subjects, due to the character of this work as a compilation, the index has run into unusual length. It seemed necessary to give this large space to the index, in order to make every part of the work readily accessible to the reader. An index of illustrations and maps also is included in volume six.

LESLIE M. SCOTT

PORTLAND, OREGON
February 1, 1924

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HISTORY OF THE OREGON COUNTRY

INTRODUCTION

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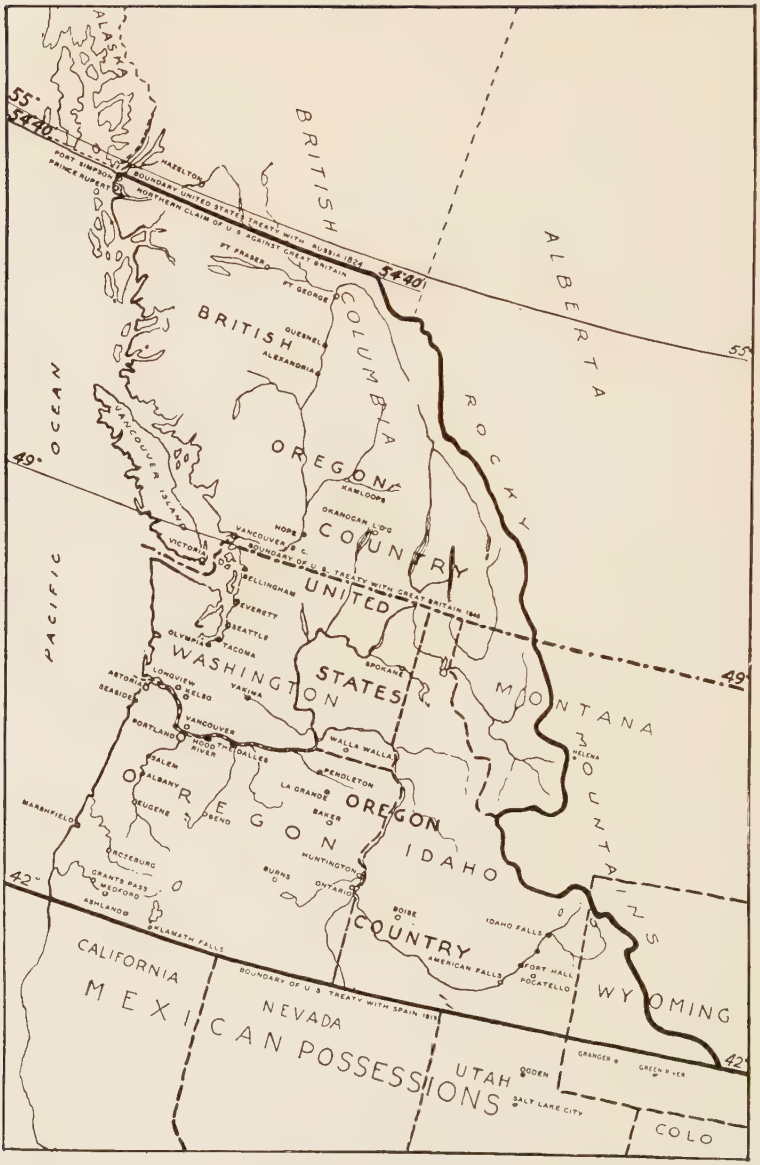
INTRODUCTION



THE ORIGINAL OREGON COUNTRY, AS DIVIDED BY THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN IN 1846

INTRODUCTION

HARVEY W. SCOTT, EDITOR

Review of his Half-Century Career and Estimate of his Work[1]

It was given to the generation of Mr. Scott's youth and to the succeeding generation of his maturer years to take a wilderness in the rough and mold it, through steadily advancing forms, to the uses of modern life. At the beginning of Mr. Scott's career, Oregon was a country whose name was known, when known at all, as a poet's synonym for solitude and mystery; at the end, it was a country which might challenge the world as an exemplar of the worthiest things in social development. Thus, the background of Mr. Scott's career was a shifting quantity, presenting each year — almost each month — new conditions and fresh problems, and calling to the man who for forty-five years was the preëminent leader of its thought, for new adjustments, oftentimes for compromises. If it must be said of Mr. Scott that the essential values of his character were individual, it still remains to be said that they were profoundly related to the conditions and times in which his work was done. The great figures of any era are those who, sustaining the relationships of practical understanding and sympathy, are still, in vision and purpose, in advance of the popular mind and of the common activities. So it was with Mr. Scott. There was never a day, of the many years of his long-sustained ascendancy in the life of Oregon, in which he did not stand somewhat apart and somewhat in advance

[1] The author of this article, Alfred Holman, many years prominent in journalism of the Pacific Coast, now editor of the San Francisco *Argonaut*, received his first newspaper training under Mr. Scott. His intimate association with Mr. Scott during more than forty years gave him close knowledge of the editor's personality. Mr. Holman has called Mr. Scott the "parent of my mind," and Mr. Scott once publicly referred to Mr. Holman as the "well-beloved son of my professional life." This article is reprinted from the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xiv, no. 2, pp. 87–133.

of his immediate world. In this there was an element of power; but there was in it, too, an element of pathos. For closely and sympathetically identified as Mr. Scott was at all times with the life of Oregon, he was, nevertheless, one doomed by the tendencies of his character and duties to a life relatively solitary.

The fewest number of men are preëminently successful in more than a single *ensemble* of conditions. Any radical change is likely first to disconcert, and ultimately to destroy adjustments of individual powers to working situations. The qualities which match one condition are not always or often adjustable in relation to others. It was an especial merit of Mr. Scott's genius, that it fitted alike into the old Oregon of small things and into the new Oregon of large things. Yet there was that in the constitution of old Oregon which relieved it of the sense of limitation and narrowness, for be it remembered that the old Oregon — the Oregon of Mr. Scott's earlier years — stretched away to the British possessions at the north and to the Rocky Mountains at the east. Geographically it was a wide region, and some sense of the vastness of it, and of the responsibilities connected with its potentialities, early seized upon and possessed the minds alike of Mr. Scott and of the more thoughtful among his contemporaries. If we regard this primitive country with attention only to the numbers of its people, it appears a small and even an insignificant outpost of the world; but if, with a truer sense of values, we study it under its necessities for social and political organization, there opens to the mind's eye a field vast, practically, as the scheme of civilization itself. Thus even in the old Oregon of small things, the man who sat at the fountain of community intelligence — the editorship of the one and only newspaper of the country — lived and worked for large purposes and under high inspirations. In a mind of common mold, taking its tone from the life around about it, there would have developed a sense of power leading to the exhilarations of an individual conceit. Upon the mind of Mr. Scott the effect was far different. In him and upon him there grew a noble development of moral responsibility. And this he carried through the vicissitudes of changing times. It was this

that gave to him, firmly rooted as he was, the power which, in conjunction with his individual gifts, sustained him as a continuing force through all the years of his life.

The external record of Mr. Scott's life is quickly told. He was born February 1, 1838, near Peoria, Illinois, in the pioneer county of Tazewell, to which his grandfather, James Scott, a native of North Carolina, after a career of twenty-six years in Kentucky, came in 1824, the first settler in Groveland township. In 1852, at the age of fourteen, he crossed the plains to Oregon as a member of his father's family, arriving at Oregon City October 2 of that year. After something less than two years in the Willamette Valley, he went as a member of a still migratory family to Puget Sound, where a pioneer home was established in what is now Mason County, three miles northwest of the present town of Shelton, on land still known as Scott's Prairie. Immediately following the settlement of the Scotts at Puget Sound, came the Indian war of 1855–56, and in connection with this war Mr. Scott began the career of public service which ended with his death, August 7, 1910. Mr. Scott's part in the Indian war was that of a volunteer soldier in the ranks, and it is of record that he endured the hardships and hazards of the campaign with the cheerful hardihood which marked every other phase of his life, public and private. In 1856, at the age of eighteen, we find Mr. Scott a laborer for wages in the Willamette Valley, dividing his small earnings between contributions in aid of his family and a small hoard for purposes of education. He entered Pacific University [1] at Forest Grove, Oregon, a small pioneer institution for all its resounding name, in December, 1856, but was compelled under necessities, domestic and individual, to abandon its classes four months later to become again a manual laborer. From the late Thomas Charman [2] of Oregon City, in April, 1857 — at that time

[1] For note on Pacific University, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 273.

[2] Thomas Charman was born in Surrey, England, September 8, 1829, and came to the United States in 1848, first to New York and afterwards to Indiana. He left Indiana in February, 1853, and went to Oregon by the Isthmus, and arrived at Oregon City March 30. He began in the bakery business and in a few years went into general merchandising. He was mayor of Oregon City sev-

just nineteen years of age — he bought an ax on credit, and part of the time alone and part in association with the late David P. Thompson,[1] he worked as a woodcutter, living meanwhile in a shack of boughs and finding his own food, supplied only with a sack of flour and a side of bacon from Charman's store. While so working and so living, he took from his labors time to attend the Oregon City College[2] during the winter of 1858–59. In the fall of the latter year he reëntered Pacific University at Forest Grove, and, supporting himself by alternating periods of team-driving, woodcutting and school-teaching during vacations and what we now call week-ends, he graduated in 1863 — the first graduate of the school. After another period of school-teaching and study, Mr. Scott went to Portland and entered as a student in the law office of the late Judge E. D. Shattuck, sustaining himself by serving as librarian of the Portland Library, then, as fitting the day of small things, a small and struggling institution. Mr. Scott's first regular contribution to *The Oregonian* appeared April 17, 1865, as an editorial on the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.[3] He was admitted to the bar of the supreme court in September, 1865.

By this time Mr. Scott had become established in the editorship of *The Oregonian*, and, excepting for a period of five years from 1872 to 1877, in which he held the post of collector of customs at Portland, busying himself in the meantime in various activities, public and private, he held this place, made great by his industry, his talents and his character, until the day of his death. In his earlier career in *The Oregonian* he was an employed editor. He returned to it in 1877, as part owner as well as editor, holding this relation to the

eral terms, beginning in 1871. He was treasurer of Clackamas County during the Civil War. He was appointed major of the state militia by Gov. Addison C. Gibbs in 1862, and served four years. He married Miss Sophia Diller on September 27, 1854, and died at Oregon City February 27, 1907.

[1] David P. Thompson (1834–1901) crossed the plains to Oregon in 1853, and was many years a leading citizen and banker of Portland. See Compiler's Appendix, vol. II, p. 243.

[2] For note on this college, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, pp. 273–74.

[3] Mr. Scott was first recognized as editor of *The Oregonian* May 15, 1865, although he wrote numerous editorial articles prior to that date. (George H. Himes.)

end. His definite editorship of the paper, with the interregnum above set forth, covered the period between April, 1865, and August, 1910 — forty-five years.

We have seen something of the external conditions and influences which went into the shaping of Mr. Scott's individual character, but behind these there lies a wide field. Whence came the essential spirit of this extraordinary man? What were the sources of the hardihood, the tenacity of purpose, the hunger for knowledge and the thirst for culture, the impulses and motives which inspired and vitalized his career? There is a suggestion in Mr. Scott's name, sustained by many physical and mental characteristics, of a remote ancestry, but the family records, prior to the migration from the old world to the new, have been lost. John Scott, great-grandfather, came to North Carolina shortly before the Revolutionary War, supposedly from England. John Scott's wife, great-grandmother, was Chloe Riggs, of North Carolina, obviously of British descent. Of her family it is known only that her father was killed by Indians. John Tucker Scott,[1] father, was born in what was then Washington County, Kentucky. Ann Roelofson,[2] wife of John Tucker Scott and mother of Harvey Scott, was, like her husband, a product of the pioneer life. The first Roelofson in America arrived at New York from Denmark in 1714, and presumably took part in the French and Indian War which preceded the Revolution. The Roelofson family is widely scattered over the United States.[3]

John Tucker Scott, founder of the Scott family in Oregon, knew no other life than that of the frontier. He was born, as we have seen, in Kentucky, and within eighteen miles of the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln, and six days before that event. His early boyhood was passed amid the tragic excitements of Kentucky, and at the age of fifteen he followed his father, James Scott, into the wilds of Illinois. The spirit of the man is illustrated by the fact that in 1852, at the

[1] Died at Forest Grove September 1, 1880; born February 18, 1809.

[2] Died on river Platte, thirty miles west of Fort Laramie, en route across the plains, June 20, 1852; born July 26, 1811. See Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, pp. 274–75, 280; vol. III, p. 272.

[3] For note on the Roelofson family, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 275.

age of forty-three, he ventured upon the great trek which brought him and his family of nine sons and daughters to the then Oregon wilderness.

I can speak from personal recollection of this typical pioneer. In physical aspect he was very much the counterpart of his distinguished son, although framed in even larger mold. There was in his face and eye a certain eagle-like quality, not often seen in these days of gentler living and softer motives. Of native mind John Tucker Scott had much; of knowledge he had, through some inscrutable process, a good deal; of conventional culture comparatively little. Yet he was essentially a man of civilized ideas and standards. So little resentful was he against the Indian race from which his family had suffered grievously that, prior to the migration to Oregon, his name was enrolled in the membership of a society for mitigating the sorrows and cruelties of Indian life. There was in the man an element of humanitarian feeling, with a tendency to sympathy with movements, not always wisely considered, for the betterment of social and moral conditions. I think I am not going too far in saying that there were in him tendencies which might easily have made him an habitual agitator; yet I suspect that the soundness of his mind would under any circumstances have checked any temperamental disposition toward utopianism. He had grown old when I knew him, and in his bearing there was something of the arbitrariness of a resolute character developed under the conditions of pioneer life. He held very definite notions of things not always carefully considered, and not infrequently there was collision of opinions between father and son, in which the former, despite the developments of time and the enlarged dignities of the latter, never lost the sense of patriarchal authority. However others might defer to the knowledge and judgment of the son, the father, in leonine spirit, would oftentimes seek to bear him down. Yet there was between the two men a singularly deep affection, in the father taking the form of a glowing pride, and in the son of a respect amounting almost to veneration.

Mr. Scott — I speak now of the son — was subject always to

moods of dejection. There were times when it was difficult to arouse in him any sense of the pleasant and hopeful side of life. I have seen him in these moods unnumbered times, and can recall but one other — that of the death of a promising son[1] — in which he showed such intense feeling as upon the death of his father. For days, as he sat in his office or tramped the hillsides — and to this he was much given at all times — he would pour forth from the storehouse of his memory floods of elegiac poetry, with somber phrases from the literature of the ages. There is impressed upon my memory, in connection with the death of John Tucker Scott, a most pathetic picture. In one sense his grief was mute, for no direct word was spoken, yet it colored Mr. Scott's thoughts for many weeks and stimulated in him that sense of the mystery of life which was always at the background of his serious thinking.

. . . . . .

Of Mr. Scott's mother, Ann Roelofson, I can only speak from the basis of family tradition, and in respect of the sustained affection in which long after her death she was held by her children. I do not remember ever to have heard Mr. Scott speak of her directly, albeit there has always been in my mind a feeling that his deep and abiding respect for womankind found its first inspiration in the memory of his mother. It was the opinion of Mr. Scott's sister, Mrs. Coburn [2] — the one among his several sisters whom I knew well — that the mother left perhaps a deeper impress on the son than did the father. It was from her that he gained the elements of tenderness and sympathy, which often tempered his more aggressive tendencies. I came to understand Mr. Scott's reserve respecting his mother when, after his death, I was told by his son, Leslie, that his father had once remarked that he could hardly think of her without tears. And indeed those of us who know how the conditions of

[1] Kenneth Nicklin Scott; born May 4, 1870, died February 3, 1881, at Portland.

[2] Catharine Amanda Coburn, associate editor of *The Oregonian*, 1888–1913. She was born in Tazewell County, Illinois, November 30, 1839, died at Portland May 28, 1913. She was one of the able members of *The Oregonian* staff, an efficient and devoted assistant of her brother, the editor. She made strong impress upon the newspaper-reading community.

pioneer life pressed upon womanhood, can easily conceive his motives. Whatever of hardihood and endurance was demanded of the pioneer, the requirement was multiplied as related to the pioneer's wife. For the gentler sort of womankind — and to this type by all accounts Ann Roelofson belonged — life in the wilderness was a long agony of self-sacrifice. With none of the exhilarations of the conflict with crude conditions, so powerful in their appeal to men, there had still to be suffered the same obstacles, plus denial of a thousand tender impulses and a thousand deep ambitions which masculine sensibility may never feel. To the end of his life Mr. Scott remembered — this I have from his son — that when he was fourteen years of age, and just before her death, his mother called him to a private talk and gave him admonitions for the guidance of his life, which took form as the very foundation stones of his character. Ann Roelofson, as we have seen, was of German extraction, and her family, still living prosperously in Illinois, are worthy folk. These qualities the mother of Mr. Scott had in eminent development. And by due inheritance they became the possession of her son.

From heredity and through the experiences of his younger life, Mr. Scott gained the bent of individual character which ruled all his years. He never ceased to be a pioneer. The vision of the pioneer, the temper of the pioneer, the spirit of the pioneer — these were the dominating inspirations of his life. Knowledge with reflection gave him philosophy, culture refined his mind, mental training gave him orderliness of method, discipline, self-imposed but absolute, gave him power. All these regarded as forces, as time moved on, were augmented by the assurances of approved capability, of an established professional ascendancy and ultimately of a notable fame. But with all and back of all there was the temper and mental habit of the pioneer. In all his thoughts, in all his ways of doing things, in every phase of his many-sided attitude toward life, there appeared the mental bias — if I may so name it — of the pioneer.

Self-reliance was the resounding *motif* in Mr. Scott's symphony of life. His dependence in all things was upon himself. He never thought to be "boosted" by society or government. He had little

patience with those who looked outside of themselves or beyond their own efforts for advantages or benefits. With none of the vices of surface knowledge, of improvised and makeshift method, of the self-satisfied emotionalism characteristic of the self-made man, Mr. Scott was yet a self-made man. He was self-educated, self-disciplined, self-reliant. Above all of the men I have ever known, he was self-centered, not in the sense that he thought overmuch of self or was devoted to the things which pertained to self, but in the rarer and finer sense of self-dependence in the motives and usages of life.

The pioneer is necessarily an individualist, and never was there a man more imbued with the spirit of individualism than Mr. Scott. He and his kind had worked their way under and through the hardest conditions. They had fought and had achieved against multiplied resistant forces. In later times, to those about him who declaimed against conditions, he was wont to exclaim with impatience, not untouched with asperity: "You," he would say, "you, who talk of hardships or of 'oppressive conditions' and of the 'grinding forces of life,' are absurd. If all the things you and your kind complain of as oppressive and burdensome were massed together, they would not equal one-tenth part of the obstacles which had to be met in the settlement and organization of this country, and about which we never thought to complain." And if in this attitude there was something of the pride of a man of conspicuous achievement, who perhaps regarded too lightly the changed atmospheres of new times compared with old, the fact none the less explained and perhaps none the less justified a sovereign contempt for socialization projects, for sentimental declamation, for the whole range of pretenses and vanities that mark the man or the community which waits and complains, as contrasted with the man or the community which girds its loins and bravely carries on.

. . . . . .

It was a day of small things when Mr. Scott came to the editorship of *The Oregonian.* Prior to that event the office staff had consisted of Henry Pittock,[1] the publisher, who also served as me-

[1] See note, p. 108, this volume.

chanical foreman, with one outside assistant, who helped with the bookkeeping, collected bills, and brought in details of such local happenings as came to his attention. There was a local reporter upon whom the whole burden of preparing the news features of the paper fell. Editorial discussion, when it was required, was supplied by one or another of several public-spirited citizens, among them Judge Shattuck.[1] And it was in response to a call made upon Judge Shattuck for "copy" that Mr. Scott, a student in his office, wrote his first paragraph for the paper. The result so commended itself to the publisher that he promptly asked for more, and as the intelligence and sincerity of the young writer were further demonstrated, he was asked to attach himself regularly to the paper. His compensation, made up in part by the paper and in part by the Portland Library Association — for he continued to act as librarian — was fifteen dollars a week. Upon these terms Mr. Scott's professional life began; all that followed was of his own creation. Even this small beginning was won by his own merit without assistance or promotion.

In the making of Mr. Scott's professional character — of the spirit in which he worked and of the methods of his work — times and conditions had much to do. It was before the day when news-gathering and reporting had become a science, before these activities had come to engross the purpose and the energy of newspaper-makers. The points of competition were not those of lavish expense in news-collecting and of lurid processes of presentment, but rather those of individual industry and close economy. The business of the editor was not that of organizing, drilling and disciplining a force of reporters, copy-readers and headline makers, but the study and presentment of facts, explanations and opinions. The machinery of social organization in a new country was in the forging; and the interest of the community was naturally and wholesomely related to serious matters. Not so much a fever to search out and present what is now called the news, as a sense of social responsibility, possessed the minds of publisher and of editor.

[1] Erasmus D. Shattuck, noted Oregon jurist, born at Bakersfield, Vermont, December 31, 1824; died at Portland July 26, 1900. See vol. II, p. 280.

In its demands the situation was directly to the hand of a youth temperamentally addicted to serious things, disposed, by propensity and habit, to refer every incident and every question to underlying principles. I think it questionable if Mr. Scott, even in his youth, could have adapted himself to present-day standards and methods of journalism. Journalist, preëminent journalist, though he was, for nearly half a century, his interest was never in the things which present-day journalism holds paramount. Events, unless they were related to economic or moral fundamentals, had no fascination for him, and little hold upon his attention. At the bottom of his mind there was ever a sovereign contempt for the trivialities which make up the stock in trade of the news room. No editor was ever more solicitous for the efficiency of his journal in its news pages, but never was there one who personally cared less than Mr. Scott about what was happening in incidental and inconsequential ways. He comprehended the necessity for encouraging and inspiring his assistants in all departments of *The Oregonian* as it grew to greatness as a disseminator of news, and he would upon occasion give himself the labor of going in detail through every column of the paper. But it was a perfunctory labor, and oftentimes I have suspected that it was a duty more frequently honored in the breach than in the observance. In reports of proceedings of Congress or state legislature, of utterances of potential men the world over, of the larger movements of international politics — in these matters Mr. Scott was interested profoundly. But he cared nothing about the ordinary range of insignificant occurrences and events.

Mr. Scott's interest in his own paper centered in the editorial page. All the rest he knew to be essential. But if there had been a way to get it done without demands upon his personal attention, he would, I think, have felt a distinct sense of relief. He regarded the news department of his paper, in the sense of its appeal to his own personal interest, as subordinate to the department of criticism and opinion. And in the daily making of the editorial page, the fundamental conception was that of social responsibility. Expediency, entertainment, showy writing — these he valued perhaps for

not less than their real worth, but for infinitely less than the estimate in which they are held by the ordinary editor. Never, at any moment of Mr. Scott's professional life, was there any concession on his part to the vice of careless and perfunctory work. Scrupulousness with respect to small as well as large matters, commonly the product only of necessity enforced by competition, was, in the case of Mr. Scott, sustained upon instinct and principle. During the greater part of his editorial career he labored wholly free from any sort of professional rivalry, and never in relation to anything approaching effective competition. He might have made easy work of it; he chose rather to work hard.

As the only publicist and preëminent man of opinion in the country, Mr. Scott spoke with authority. The habit of regarding his public counsels as authoritative reacted upon his own mind, in the sense of creating and sustaining a feeling of intense individual responsibility. Ultimately he became something of an autocrat, but never was there an autocrat in whom the spirit of authority dwelt so impersonally, and in such subordination to conditions and principles of which he was ever a devoted student. I recall, as illustrating this aspect of Mr. Scott's character — an incident among many — his retort to a shallow and pretentious man who had ventured to discuss a financial issue with him. Overwhelmed by the fullness of Mr. Scott's knowledge, driven from every point of his assumption, he doggedly remarked, "Well, Mr. Scott, I have as good a right to my opinion as you have to yours." "You have not," said Mr. Scott, as he rose in warm irritation. "You speak from the standpoint of mere presumption and emotion, without knowledge, without judgment. You speak after the manner of the foolish. I speak from the basis of painstaking and laborious study. You have no right to an opinion on this subject; you have not given yourself the labors which alone can justify opinion. You do not even understand the fundamental facts upon which an opinion should be based. You say your opinion is as good as mine. It will be time enough for this boast when you have brought to the subject a teachable mind, and when you have mastered some of its elementary facts. But I fear

even then you will be but a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal, for the very lack of judgment, which permits you now to assume judgment without knowledge, is but a poor guaranty of your character. I bid you good-day, sir!"[1] I promised a single instance, but here is another: An editor of small caliber, commenting upon what he characterized as "Scott's arrogance," declared that he had as good a title to consideration as Mr. Scott himself. "Tell him," said Mr. Scott, to the friend who had brought a message, "tell him that it is not for me to judge of his merits or of his title to speak, but say to him for me that when he shall have borne the burden and carried such honors as are attached to the leadership of journalism in this country for forty years, I will be disposed to concede to him a certain equality of privilege."

Again: There had come to Portland a man of some experience in minor journalism in a Middle Western town of the third class, making noisy announcement of his intention to establish a newspaper in rivalry with *The Oregonian.* It happened that I fell in with the newcomer and had a free talk with him Somewhere in the course of our conversation I said: "Mr. Blank, they tell me you are a Democrat; and may I ask to which wing of the party you belong? Are you a goldbug, or a Bryanite?"[2] "Well," he replied, "I never cross bridges until I come to them." A few hours later I reported this conversation to Mr. Scott, with emphasis upon the significant reply. "Well," he said, as he strode up and down the room with his thumbs in the armholes of his waistcoat, and in the deliberate manner which marked moods of amused satisfaction, "well, so *that's* the measure of Brother Blank, is it? Well, I do suspect that this community has been fed on too strong meat to prove very hospitable to a journalistic dodger!"

Circumstances tended in multitudinous ways and for many years to exhibit and emphasize the importance of Mr. Scott's relations to

[1] This incident relates to the contest over fiat money, against which Mr. Scott fought from 1866 until its culmination in the election of November, 1896.

[2] William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, was candidate for President, in 1896, of the free silver Democratic party. Supporters of the single gold standard were commonly called "goldbugs."

the public. There was scarcely a day in which there did not come to him, either in the form of compliment or opposition, some tribute to his powers and to his place in the life of the state. A man of trivial mind, open to the besetments of vanity, would, under these recurring suggestions, have become a colossus of self-esteem. Mr. Scott indeed knew himself a factor in affairs, but he never lost himself in a fog of self-admiration. Oftentimes, when some visitor had paid extravagant compliments upon his work in general or with respect to the character of *The Oregonian*, he would say, "Oh, he means well, but I suspect that if I had slammed his interest or had bumped one of his favorite prejudices, his tune would have been pitched in another key. If he had read widely, he would know better than to estimate extravagantly an article which merely applies, in a timely way, principles as old as civilization." Then, if there was a moment of leisure or if the mood was upon him — and when the mood was upon him there was always leisure — he would, commonly rising from his chair and pacing the floor, recite in a sort of measured singsong, which never failed to bring out the full meaning, some classic passage pertinent to the matter immediately under consideration.

It would be too much to say that Mr. Scott did not relish commendation. What I wish to make clear is he never allowed his pleasure in the approval of others to unhorse his judgment, least of all, to magnify to himself the merit of his own performances. His standards in the matter of appraising the value of any piece of work were wholly apart from his own relation to it, and the only fault I could ever discover, in his judgment of his own work and the work of others, was that he was infinitely more considerate of the latter than of the former. Yet there was one curious exception to this rule. Somehow Mr. Scott could never feel that the work of any pen other than his own could pledge *The Oregonian* newspaper. In later years — that is, within the latter half of his editorial life — the editorial page was the work of various hands. Scrupulous as he was in respect to his own articles, he could never, unless the subject chanced to be important, be brought to give more than perfunctory attention, in manuscript or proofs, to the work of anybody else.

"Oh, let it go in," he would say, if asked to pass upon an article, "and take its chance for whatever it may be worth." And so, four times out of five, Mr. Scott's first reading of the articles of his associates was when they appeared in printed form. Then, perhaps, if there was anything of which he seriously disapproved, he would soon thereafter bring the paper round with one of his own thunderbolts to his own line of thought. Oftentimes when he was absent, or even when at home, articles would appear quite outside the range of his ways of thinking, but it seemed never to occur to him that the paper could be committed in its policies by such expressions; and he invariably treated a question, no matter what had been said about it by others in the editorial columns, as if it were discussed for the first time. That this curious tendency and habit should lead to some inconsistencies and to occasional serious misunderstandings, was inevitable. They might disturb others but they rarely disturbed Mr. Scott himself. He felt himself to be *The Oregonian;* and he never could consent that the paper stood committed to anything unless he himself, by his own pen, had written it out.[1]

The thought to seek out the tendencies of contemporary opinion, to follow abjectly, and so flatter and cajole the public — this which has come to be almost a fundamental rule of contemporary journalism — had no place in Mr. Scott's philosophy. Of what is called policy he had none at all, and he held in sovereign contempt the

[1] On February 22, 1906, Mr. Scott said in *The Oregonian:* "At every stage of its history the charge of 'inconsistency' has been thrown at it [*The Oregonian*] by minds too petty to understand even one side of the question under discussion. . . . The files of the carpers and critics never will be searched, for they contain nothing. 'Inconsistency' is the perpetual terror of little minds. It was the worn weapon used against Burke, and against Webster, and against Hamilton, and against Lincoln, and against Gladstone, and against Carlyle, and against Herbert Spencer; for whom, however, it had no terrors. In the arsenal of all petty and shallow and malignant accusers it has been the chief weapon. It always will be. The most 'inconsistent' books in the world are Shakespeare and the Holy Bible, most inconsistent because they say and contain more than all other books whatsoever; and you can pick them to pieces everywhere and prove their inconsistencies throughout. . . . It is not necessary to say much in this matter. The work *The Oregonian* has done on the mind of the country, the effects of that work, the general achievement, are known. What has been done may tell the story."

very word, policy. "Policy! Policy!" he would say, "is the device by which small and dishonest men seek to make traffic in lies. When a newspaper gets a 'policy,' it throws over its conscience and its judgment and becomes a pander. There is but one policy for a newspaper, and it is comprehended in the commandment, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness.'" And by this principle Mr. Scott guided his newspaper. I never knew him to give an order to "color" the news. His rule with respect to the news pages was to present the facts as clearly and as briefly as possible. If his judgments and opinions, his preferences and resentments, his loves and his hates, were exploited — and candor requires me to say that they were all exploited at times—the place was in the editorial page. The integrity of the news Mr. Scott always scrupulously respected. The reports of *The Oregonian* were commonly as fair to those whose ambitions or courses it opposed, as to those it wished to promote. I recall in this connection the publication in full made from shorthand notes — an exceptional thing in those days — of Senator Mitchell's address to the legislature upon the occasion of his second election.[1] *The Oregonian* had fought Mitchell with all its powers, but when he was elected, his address of thanks to the legislature and through the legislature to the public was given verbatim. Mr. Mitchell himself was greatly surprised by it — indeed, so much surprised that when I met him in the lobby of the old Chemeketa Hotel[2] the following morning he forgot that we were not on speaking terms. Addressing me abruptly in the presence of half a roomful, he said: "I want to say that while I abate nothing with respect to differences between Mr. Scott and myself, I do respect his integrity as an editor. I was ashamed this morning to find myself surprised at the completeness of the report of yesterday's doings at the capitol. Yes, I ought to have known that as a journalist — no matter about other things — Mr. Scott is a man of strict integrity."

In the many controversies in which *The Oregonian* engaged with

[1] John H. Mitchell was elected November 18, 1885. See p. 104, following.

[2] The Chemeketa Hotel was at Salem, Oregon. *Chemeketa* was a Calapooya Indian word, said to mean "place of rest." The city stands in Chemeketa Plain.

individuals, much was said that was severe. Much perhaps was said that would have been left unsaid upon reflection. But invariably the man assailed was given opportunity to present his side of the issue, even to the length of open disrespect and downright denunciation. Only in one respect can I discover any just criticism of Mr. Scott's practice in such matters. This exception was upon calculation under the notion that it was justified — a notion in which I could never quite coincide. Mr. Scott would always print an opponent's letter, but occasionally he would damn it with a "smashing" headline. If protest were made on any account by a member of his own staff, he would reply: "Oh, well, it saves the bother of answering." None the less, for he dearly loved a personal "scrap," he was more than likely to "answer" in a manner exhibiting the fact that he had not exhausted the vials of his mind in the making of a headline.

I have said that Mr. Scott never sought to hunt out and pander to immediate phases of popular opinion; and this perhaps was the strongest point in his character as an editor. Certainly it is a point which profoundly differentiates him from the more modern editor, whose main occupation appears to be an imitation of the office of the weathercock to the wind. Looking back over his long career and upon its amazing output of individual work in some ninety volumes of half-year files of *The Oregonian*, it now seems that he was almost always in opposition. "It seems forever my fate to be contending with to-day, and to be justified by to-morrow," he would say. And it was literal truth. I cannot now think of any vital principle or of any great issue, in all the years of Mr. Scott's editorial career, in which he was not fundamentally right. I cannot recall an instance where he conceded a vital principle to mere expediency; nor can I recall an instance in which he permitted himself to play upon the public caprice or the public credulity.

This is said with full remembrance of the fact that a constant charge against Mr. Scott was that he lacked consistency. Upon this charge the changes were rung and re-rung throughout his whole career, and by those who thought they found irrefutable proofs in the columns of *The Oregonian*. I have already set forth one habit

which formed a certain basis for this charge, but the statement does not cover the whole case. A larger explanation lies in the difference of vision between the man, whose sense of obligation was to principles, and to those who could never see anything higher than incidents and expedients. For example, Mr. Scott was intellectually a believer in untrammeled trade. He saw that the ideal principle in the relations of men and nations was the rule of freedom from artificial barriers. When opportunity served, as it did frequently, in connection with the discussion of abstract considerations, he wrote under inspiration of the faith that was in him. I suspect that a careful study of the files, with the massing together of many detached articles, would exhibit a practically complete exposition of all that may be said on behalf of the abstract theory of free trade. At the same time, Mr. Scott was among those who saw advantages in a scheme of protective tariff, regarded purely as an expedient. To himself there was a clear line of distinction between the abstract and the practical issue. His position to himself was clear. But to the rough-riding "protectionist" who knew and cared nothing of fundamentals, and who, under motives of self-interest or under the inspirations of partisan feeling, made a fetish of "protection," there appeared neither logic nor honesty in Mr. Scott's position. He was persistently assailed by those who did not, and perhaps could not, understand him, because they lacked intellectual and moral vision to distinguish between the tariff scheme regarded fundamentally on the one hand, and upon the other as an economic and political expedient.[1] Again, in connection with abstract studies Mr. Scott frequently declared judgments concerning minor matters, only to pass over these same considerations as they were related to current politics; and here again he was assailed as a man who held one set of opinions in off years, and another set of opinions

[1] Mr. Scott, though a free trader, acted throughout his life with the protective tariff Republican party, because of larger and more vital issues, such as antislavery, preservation of the Union, anti-greenbackism, gold standard, territorial expansion after the Spanish War. He was radically opposed to the Democratic party in these questions and considered them far more important than protective tariff. If he quitted the Republican party he knew he would lose effective political associations.

when it came to the years of political contention. These critics did not see what was clearly in the mind of the editor, namely, that politics in its practical aspects can only approximate the standards of the fundamental thinker. They could not understand — indeed they can never understand — that one may hold definitely to certain abstract ideals, yet in his working relations shape his course subject to the demands of time and circumstance. There are two kinds of truth, theoretical and practical. But many minds are so constituted that they can see but one. Mr. Scott saw both.

The truth of the matter is that in his professional character Mr. Scott represented two types of men. He was a scholar and he was a journalist. He loved to study and to expound the fundamental and the ideal. As a man of practical affairs he knew that the fundamental and the ideal are rarely attainable; that they call for conditions and for states of society nonexistent. Scholarship and philosophy gave him a vision of an airline; but as a leader in the affairs of practical life he realized that in the working world, including human progress, the forward march is not by the airline, but by a winding road. He was an idealist but no dreamer, still less a tilter at windmills. He would, perhaps, have enjoyed a purely scholarly life — or might have done so if opportunity had come to him before the strenuous and combative elements of his nature were attuned to action — but his professional responsibilities and labors had led him far afield from the cloister. He never lost his taste for abstract studies, and his studies were more or less reflected in his daily outgivings. But he had that quality of mind which led him to comprehend the necessity for concession to conditions as he found them in the workaday world.

In the long course of Mr. Scott's editorial career he was again and again compelled to make compromises. Exigencies of time and circumstance found in him such response as becomes a leader in practical thought, but he never lost sight of any principle which had come to possess his mind and conscience. While circumstances might compel him to swerve from the ideal line, he could never be brought to be faithless to it. Necessity might compel a change of

course, but it could never obscure in him a clear vision of the guiding star.

Under the necessity Mr. Scott could temporize, but he never made the slightest concession from sinister motives. In an association which gave me the closest possible insight into the processes of his mind in relation to his professional labors, I never once saw or heard the slightest suggestion of the cloven foot. It became oftentimes an office of friendship, as well as a matter of duty, to point out to Mr. Scott the practical hazards of one line of action or another. He was always openly receptive to suggestions from any source. But it would have been a bold man who, knowing Mr. Scott's tendencies of mind, would have pressed a point based upon financial, social or other personal considerations. His concern, with a not undue regard for what was expedient, and therefore practically wise, was with what was fundamentally right.

Somewhere in my youth — perhaps in the correspondence of George W. Smalley, who for so many years wrote both entertainingly and wisely of Europe and European affairs in a New York paper — I read an explanation of the rather curious fact that English provincial journalism has always been abler than the journalism of London. Newspapers like the Leeds *Mercury* and the Manchester *Guardian* have always had a clearer vision than the journals of the metropolis. The explanation was to this effect, namely, that the provincial editor, sitting a little upon one side, so to speak, apart from the suggestions and influences of London life, sees things in a truer perspective. This remark has long stuck in my mind and has seemed to explain in part an exceptional quality in Mr. Scott's editorial writing. Oregon, for thirty years of Mr. Scott's professional career, was a country detached and apart, and even to this day it is far removed from the greater centers of political and material life. The telegraph brings daily reports of leading events, but it brings only essentials. The ten thousand side-lights, which illuminate the atmosphere of New York, Washington, or London, are lacking. The man who deals at such range with the current doings of the world has no aid, through daily contact with the agents of great

events, and can have small knowledge of the incidental and oftentimes significant gossip which attends upon important movements. His resource must be a broad view of things. He must measure events not as they stand related to incidents, but by the gauge of fixed principles. The conditions under which Mr. Scott worked accorded perfectly with the propensities of his mind. He had a contempt for what he termed "outward flourishes"; his mind went to the core of every issue. If the subject were reconstruction, or finance, or the tariff, or civil service, or foreign policy, or whatnot, he dealt with it not after the fashion of the mere journalistic recorder, but in the profounder spirit of the philosophic historian. Your average journalist is mainly a popularizer of appropriated materials. He applies to current events conclusions pretty much always obvious, and for the most, temporary. Mr. Scott, sitting apart from all but the essential facts and exercising a true philosophic instinct, sought out the subtle links through which, in history and in logic, facts stand related to facts. He saw the essential always. He wore upon himself, like an ample garment, a splendid erudition, under which he moved with entire ease; and it so possessed his mind that he could bring to bear, upon any contemporary event, the lights of history and philosophy with a judgment unbiased by trivial incidents and petty considerations.

It is not within the purpose of this writing to consider the specific judgments of Mr. Scott in relation to public policies, still less to recite the story of the many battles of opinion in which he stood at the forefront. These phases of Mr. Scott's career form a separate theme which will be treated by another hand in this publication. But I hope that, without invasion of that aspect of Mr. Scott's life which is to engage the pen of another, I may speak of his championship of one great cause — a championship which ran through many years, developing in their fullest power the ample resources of the man and which must, I think, in the final summing-up of Mr. Scott's professional life, stand as the most imposing of his many public services. I refer to his advocacy of sound money, as against recurrent attempts to inflate the currency of the country by issues

of "fiat" paper, and to debase the monetary standard by giving, or attempting to give, to silver an arbitrary parity with the world's standard of value, gold. Careful study of history had impressed upon Mr. Scott's mind the vital importance of a sound and stable currency. He was among the first to recognize the hazard involved in any and all schemes of inflation. He foresaw clearly the dangers involved in the earlier efforts of the inflationists, and long before the silver menace was realized elsewhere, he spoke in prophecy and in protest. During many years his was a lone voice crying in the wilderness; and as the silver movement developed and waxed strong, his protest became more earnest and vehement. And as he stood in the front of the fight at its beginning, so he stood in the mighty struggle of 1896 in which it culminated. No other man in the country, in public life or out of it, carried on so long and so able a campaign as did Mr. Scott.[1] I chance to know that it is the opinion of those best qualified for judgment that Mr. Scott's earnestness and strength in this great contest was, from first to last, the most powerful individual force in it. And to my mind his early insight into this subject, with his subsequent presentments of fact and reason with respect to it, form perhaps the best exposition of the powers of his mind exercised in relation to a purely practical matter.

I am loath to pass on from the professional phase of Mr. Scott's career, for though my reverence is more for the man than for the editor, there was that in his purely professional character which sustained very exceptional standards of journalism — standards which, under the amazing prosperity which recent years have brought to the business of newspaper publishing, have been well-nigh overborne. A fine sense of social responsibility, an intense respect for fundamental considerations, the disposition to get from himself the best that was in him in matters small and large, the

[1] Mr. Scott began his fight against free coinage of silver in 1877; the contest culminated in the November election of 1896. It was universally admitted that Republicans then carried the gold standard issue in Oregon through efforts of Mr. Scott. Fourteen years later, shortly before his death, Mr. Scott said that that issue was the gravest that had confronted the Nation since the Civil War, on account of the industrial and political danger threatened by debased standard of value.

quick conscience with respect to fact, no matter how grievous the labor required to develop it, an integrity of mind which would not descend to the smallest public deception, a mental intrepidity which reckoned not at all upon consequences, the ability to work and the propensity to work in season and out of season — these qualities, supplemented by broad resources of knowledge and the powers of a mind which instinctively rejected nonessentials to seize upon the essence of things — these made up a professional character which, in my judgment, has not been matched in the journalism of this country or any other. And when I reflect that Mr. Scott passed almost half a century with nothing of the stimulus which comes from intellectual rivalry, with few of the legitimate helps of intellectual association, unspurred by any species of competition, working wholly under the promptings of his own impulses and his own fine sense of manly obligation, I marvel at the record.

. . . . . .

Generations of clean-blooded, wholesome-living, right-minded forbears gave Mr. Scott a towering frame and a constitution of mighty vitality. A youth of manual labor and untouched by vices had toughened every fiber of the physical man. Never was there a sounder mind in a sounder body. He had an eye which could gaze unshrinking into the brightest sun at meridian, and which no stress of study ever wearied. "I have never been conscious of having any eyes," he once remarked when, after many hours of severe work, he was cautioned to be careful of his vision. Labors which would exhaust the vitality of an ordinary man he could, in the early and middle years of his life, sustain day after day, with no sense of fatigue. At one period — about the year 1875, as I recall it — he devoted no less than eighteen hours a day to his studies and his office duties. He was temperamentally disposed to industry and he had never cultivated habits which idly dissipate time. Many men of fine minds are subject to atmospheres, and dependent for their moods upon surroundings. Something of this disability, if it may be so called, came to Mr. Scott in his later years, but during the greater part of his life he cared nothing at all about these matters. He could

have sat amid the clamor of a boiler factory and pursued, undisturbed, the most abstruse studies. In later years his powers of abstraction declined, but in the first twenty years of my acquaintance with him they were absolute. It was his habit in these more acquisitive years to turn every moment to account. Once, in reply to an inquiry as to his habits of reading, he answered jocosely: "I read in the morning in bed as soon as it is light enough; then I read before breakfast and after breakfast; then after I get to the office, before lunch and awhile after lunch, and, of course, before dinner. Then I read awhile before I start to my office for the evening, and after I have read my proofs and trudged home, before I go to bed and after I am in bed." And this was hardly an exaggeration. More amazing still, he remembered everything he read. He never ceased to possess anything he had once made his own, and before his thirty-fifth year he had made his own pretty much the whole range of the world's serious literature.

Mr. Scott's classical culture was so thorough and so sustained that much which the ordinary classicist gropes through painfully he could read without a lexicon. It was his daily practice and one of his chief diversions to turn passages from one language into another. "That's the trick," he would say, "which gave me such poor ability to write as I have. I could never have done anything without it." Most authors of classic renown he had read in the original, and all of what may be called the greater works of antiquity he knew practically by heart. The late Edward Failing,[1] himself a man of fine culture, once told me that his first meeting with Mr. Scott was in the reading-room of the old Portland Library prior to his coming to *The Oregonian*. It was the practice of a group of studious young men to pass their evenings in the library, and not infrequently conversation, with mutual comparison of their acquirements, was substituted for reading. Upon one such occasion somebody brought out a whimsical book in which, as a literary curiosity, *Paradise Lost* was rendered in its prose equivalent. As passage after passage of this

[1] Born in New York City December 18, 1840; died at Portland January 29, 1900; came to Portland in 1853. See p. 38, following.

fantastic production was read, Mr. Scott gave the versified form from memory. The story is characteristic of Mr. Scott's habit through life. His feats of memory indeed were marvelous. Open a book of the Shakespearean plays anywhere and read a line, and he would almost surely give you the next, and upon the instant. Recite to him any passage from the Homeric poems, and from memory he would give you the varying English translations. Any phrase or any idea having its roots or resemblances in standard literature would bring from him a perfect flood of recitation, all from memory. I recall once, in describing to him the method of a certain orator, that I remembered as a schoolboy rendering heavily one of Webster's orations beginning: "Unborn ages and visions of glory crowd upon my soul," etc. "Ah!" said Mr. Scott, "that's an old friend." And he proceeded to reel off, from the poet I had never heard of, the original expression of which Webster's resounding exordium was a paraphrase. Whatever form of literature found in him especial appreciation, became a fixed furniture of his mind. The plays of the earlier British dramatists, in all their finer passages, were as definitely in his mind and as available for immediate use as the worn maxims are familiar to most of us. He was an admirer of Burke, and whole passages of his speeches he would recite offhand. In the course of every day in his office, he would illustrate perhaps twenty situations by recalling some classic or standard utterance, always reciting it letter perfect. If he looked from his office window upon the moving crowd below, there would arise to his lips some quaint or wise passage apt to the circumstance. If any one asked after his health, he was more than likely to reply with a couplet. The writings of the great religious teachers of antiquity, even the jargon of the modern religious schools, were at his tongue's end. In his own writings he was not given to quotation, but one familiar with the world's literature might easily trace the genesis of many a thought and of a thousand turns of expression to the amazing storehouse of his memory.

Mr. Scott gave his mind to many subjects, but perhaps his most exhaustive study was within a sphere singularly removed from the

range of his daily activities. I fancy that it will surprise many to know that the study which claimed his deepest interest was that of theology.[1] Here he really touched bottom. His researches left unexplored no source of knowledge and no scheme of philosophy as related to the spiritual side of human nature, or as exhibited in the history of the races of men and in the writings of prophets and sages. As time wore on and as the responsibilities of life pressed upon him, he grew away somewhat from this enthusiasm, but he never lost interest in matters theological. Upon no theme could he be more easily drawn out, and upon none was the wealth of his knowledge and the play of his thought more fully displayed. He came ultimately to a philosophy all his own, very simple, yet sufficient to the repose of a mind deeply inclined to spiritual contemplation, yet rejecting absolutely the claims of any dogmatic creed as the content of absolute truth. In his own words: "That mystery, 'where God in man is one with man in God,' is sacred to every soul." His ultimate philosophy of life was finely expressed in a remark, with respect to "Jerry" Coldwell,[2] a long-time reporter of *The Oregonian*, when called upon to speak at his funeral: "Everything perishes but the sweet and pure influences that proceed from an honorable life. They are immortal, extending in ever-widening circles, we may believe, through time and eternity."

In the earlier years of my association with Mr. Scott it was his habit to expound to me, for the want of a more intelligent audience — none could have been more sympathetic — his plan to write a book of moral and religious philosophy; and I reproach myself in the thought that while the memory of his earnestness of purpose and of the obvious profundity of his learning and reflection abide with me, the matter which, perhaps, I never really understood, has passed from my mind. Time never altered, I am sure, a philos-

[1] A collection of Mr. Scott's writings, *Religion, Theology and Morals*, compiled by Leslie M. Scott, was printed in 1917, two volumes, by The Riverside Press.

[2] Edward Lothrop Coldwell died at Portland March 15, 1908, aged sixty-eight years; twenty-five years reporter on *The Oregonian* and in daily touch with Mr. Scott. See biography, vol. v, pp. 241–43.

ophy which was the foundation of his religious thought and the mechanism of what I may presume to call his conscious moral reflections.

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Writing was not to Mr. Scott a natural gift. His propensity was to thought rather than to expression. He had nothing of the light and easy grace, in the making of phrases, which with many renders the operation of writing little more than pastime. Literally he forged his matter into form, and if the form was always fine it was made so less by instinctive art than by unremitting labors. With many writers, especially those who combine experience with propensity, the very process of expression oftentimes inspires and shapes the thought. With Mr. Scott the thought always dominated the expression. I question if he ever wrote a careless sentence in his life. Every utterance was first considered carefully, then — often very slowly — hammered into shape. He wrote always with his own hand, and could never with satisfaction to himself employ the aid of an amanuensis. His style was a reflection of his mind. It was considered, clear, logical, complete and always pure. Of a certain species of whimsical slang he was a master in conversation; it made the substance of a playful humor, which was unfailing in all his freer talks. But when he set himself to write, his scholar's sense of propriety, his clean-minded regard for pure forms overcame the tendency to verbal flippancy so frequently and happily illustrated in his speech. In my own judgment Mr. Scott's written style lost something from this scrupulousness, from its unfailing dignity of phrase. I think his work would have gained buoyancy — a certain winged power — if he had been a less severe critic of himself, if his touch had been lighter and his critical instinct less exacting. When, as rarely happened, he could be induced to depart from his customary formality of expression, he had in it a kind of delight akin to the exhilaration of a naughty child over some pleasing smartness. I recall once, when some rather ridiculous man had made a grandiloquent public declaration of heroic views, Mr. Scott remarked, "I don't know just how to treat that." Mr. Ernest

Bross,[1] a long-time and very able editorial assistant, suggested, "Just print what he says and put under it, as your sole comment, 'Would n't that jar you!'" Mr. Scott pooh-poohed the suggestion; but half an hour later he came into my room, which adjoined his own, and read to me a paragraph in which, in modified form, he had used the suggested expression. He gurgled over it with the keenest delight, and later, when his proofs came, he walked through the editorial rooms reading it to others of the staff. The following morning, with the paper spread before him, he ran over the particular paragraph with boisterous satisfaction in a literary prank.

Competent as his judgment was with respect to his own work as well as to the work of others, it was nevertheless Mr. Scott's practice to read over his prepared articles to his assistants. "Trying it on the dog," was his familiar phrase for this form of experimentation. He always invited criticism, though I do not recall many instances in which any of us were wise enough to help him, unless it were at the point of restraint. But if there came to him from any source a really good suggestion, he had no vanities leading to its rejection. I think the office boy, if he had had a point to make, would have been listened to as respectfully as his most trusted assistant.

Although a constant and profound reader, Mr. Scott spent little time upon light literature. Newspapers interested him in so far as they gave him information or suggested reflections upon current events, but he cared little for magazines, and would oftener cast them aside, after running over the table of contents, than read them. He lived — I use his own phrase — with books; and the books he lived with were books which presented to him new facts or old facts in new relations, and which dealt with broad views of things. Books of mere entertainment he valued not at all. Of really good fiction he read all there was. Of poetry he was a constant reader and re-reader. I think he was familiar with every great poem in literature, and I doubt if there is anywhere a high imaginative figure or a great poetic image that was unknown to him. Passages from the stand-

[1] Managing editor of *The Oregonian*, 1897–1904; now editor of the Indianapolis *Star*.

Harvey W. Scott at his Editorial Desk in 1897

ard poets came to him upon the slightest suggestion, and oftentimes he would recite them from memory and at great length. No man more quickly or more surely discriminated the good from the bad. Mr. Lucius Bigelow,[1] long a brilliant contributor to *The Oregonian's* editorial page, once remarked that Mr. Scott's mind was "a refinery of metals, taking in all kinds of ore and with an almost mechanical discrimination selecting the fine from the base." The most trivial incident would draw from him the loftiest selections from the storehouse of his reading.

Mr. Levinson,[2] another long-time member of *The Oregonian* family, recently told me of a characteristic incident. One evening he came upon Mr. Scott in the hall with his key in his office door, when, apropos of nothing, he looked up and began to recite a passage from Joseph Blanco White's "To Night":

> When our first parent knew thee from report divine.

Having finished the passage, his face wreathed itself in a smile and he remarked, "No, Joe; *I* did n't write that" — and opening his office door, walked in and sat down to his labors. Thus at unexpected times and in whimsical ways he illuminated the daily life of *The Oregonian* office, making it, of all the workshops I have ever known, the most inspiring.

Nature, in all its aspects, had for Mr. Scott a tremendous fascination. He luxuriated in the mere weather — good or bad. He would stand at his window and look out upon the dreariest day with a certain joy in it. Fine weather with him was an infinite delight. He was singularly uplifted by fine views, and perhaps of the multitudes who have gazed upon Mount Hood, no one ever so intensely enjoyed it. From the east windows of his office on the eighth floor of the "tower" — for so his office came to be known to the public — Mount Hood was, before the period of the skyscraper, in full view. He kept a pair of field glasses on his desk, and it was his habit every

[1] Lucius Bigelow came to *The Oregonian* in 1886. He was a skillful writer, especially on the Civil War and Shakespeare. He died at Montpelier, Vermont, in 1917. He was a veteran of the Civil War.

[2] N. J. Levinson, now associate editor of the *Portland Telegram*, joined *The Oregonian* staff in 1879.

day, many times, to gaze at the beautiful picture athwart the eastern sky. "I suppose," he remarked one day, "that I keep as close tab on Mount Hood as anybody, but I have to tell you that, in the tens of thousands of times that I have looked at it, I have never failed to find in it some new charm." Once in the early evening he burst into my room, next his own, in what was to him a state of positive agitation. "Look! Look!" he exclaimed. My first thought was that some terrible tragedy had stirred him; but the scene was the full summer moon, emerging as if from the body of the mountain. "You will probably," he said, "never in your life behold that amazing conjunction again." So with every other aspect of this ever-changing mountain. It was his singular love for it, I think, that with all of us — certainly with me — has given to Mount Hood a certain identification with Mr. Scott. I never look upon it without seeing not alone the mountain, but the rugged figure of the "old man" — for so in affection we always styled him when his back was turned — in his peculiar pose standing at his window, glass in hand, gazing, gazing, gazing!

I have said that Mr. Scott was not by nature a writer; and, truth to tell, he was a bit contemptuous of those who were. He had a sneering phrase which he often applied to easy, graceful, purposeless work. "Feeble elegance," was his characterization of all such. He not only wrote with his own hand, but perhaps for every column of finished matter which he produced he made a column and a half of manuscript. Oftentimes not only his desk, but the floor about him, would be littered with sheets of paper written over but rejected. He detested slovenliness in the form of a manuscript, and would laboriously erase words, phrases and whole sentences and rewrite over the space thus regained. His thought was definite, but he made serious work of getting it into form; and he never shirked any labor to this end, although to the end of his life it was always a labor. He had one curious habit, which bears a certain relationship to the quality of his work. Oftentimes while pondering over the form of a sentence, he would write and rewrite on another sheet of paper the word "solidity." I have seen this word, in his characteristic script,

duplicated a hundred times in a single evening. Whence came this whimsical habit I know not. He had it when I first knew him; he persisted in it to the end. And somehow the word "solidity," as he wrote it a million times to no obvious purpose, seems to me to bear in it a kind of symbol of his literary method. Solidity of thought, solidity of expression — this was his characteristic quality.

Upon many occasions I have heard remarks suggesting the idea of Mr. Scott as a severe man — as if he were a hard taskmaster. Never was there a greater misconception. He was not indeed much given to the conventioned amenities. He would come or go, often without a sign of recognition, but it was merely the mark of a mind absorbed. In all essential ways he was the most considerate of employers — I have sometimes thought too considerate for his own profit or for our best discipline. His assumption was that every man was, of course, doing his duty. There was never anything like critical observation of the occupations or the absences of his assistants. He never looked at the clock. In his attitude toward his assistants there was no direct oversight, no pettiness. And all who served him will bear me witness that, in the crises of personal distress or domestic affliction, he was the very soul of kindness. A man called from his work by any domestic emergency was never made to suffer in the thought that his absence from duty would discredit him, or that it would be reflected in a diminished pay check. Nor was any man ever expected in respect of the course of the paper to write against his own convictions or in disloyalty to his own judgment. "Do you feel like writing so and so?" he would say. And if there was any indication of dissent from views which he evidently wished presented, he would say: "Oh, well, I will do it myself. I don't want in this paper any perfunctory work. No man ever wrote anything, that he did n't believe, that was worth anybody's reading." And so he would set himself to labors which a man of less delicacy or of more arbitrary spirit would have imposed upon others.

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In the sense that he held in profound contempt many things which men in general delight in, Mr. Scott may be described as

unsocial. He abominated ordinary frivolities in which many persons find mental refreshment. Social life, in the usual interpretation of the phrase, he regarded as waste of time — even worse, as tending to mental flabbiness. He had not been brought up to understand that even a wise man may frivol not unwisely; and though at periods of his life he mixed more or less in social companies, he got little out of it but weariness. So with ordinary amusements. He cared little for the theater, unless by some happy chance there was intellectual merit in the play or power in the performance. Sports he held in contempt. But he liked walking, and at one period of his life he got a good deal of pleasure out of horseback riding. Driving was more or less a pleasure to him if he found congenial company, but otherwise it was a bore. Perhaps the keenest pleasure in his life in the sense of occupation, apart from his studies and professional labors, was the clearing of a forest tract at Mount Scott.[1] Here he felt that he was doing constructive work — redeeming the wilderness and preparing it for production. It recalled to him, too, the labors of his youth and a thousand memories connected with them. He once remarked, as we stood on the side of Mount Scott, that the odors of burning stumps and brush piles carried him back to his boyhood as nothing else did. "I suppose," he said, "that where it costs me a hundred dollars to clear an acre of this land, its productive value will be less than a mere fraction of that sum. But somehow I like to do it. First or last, it's got to be done by somebody, and I might just as well get the fun out of it."

The theory that Mr. Scott was unsocial in his nature was one of his own pet self-deceptions — perhaps I would better say affectations. "Yes," he would often remark, "I am by nature solitary!" Then he would sit down on the top of Mr. Bross's table or my own and declaim for an hour upon arts and letters, or politics or philosophy, with the keenest zest. Upon such occasions — and they were almost of daily occurrence — all the ordinary bars of conventional relationship between senior and junior were down. More than once

[1] Seven miles southeast of the center of Portland; named for Mr. Scott in 1889 by W. P. Keady.

I have said: "Mr. Scott, this is mighty interesting, and I wish I had nothing to do but sit here the rest of the night, but if you expect anything from me in to-morrow's paper you have got to get out." "Yes," he would answer, "I suppose I am something of a nuisance, but as you know, I am a solitary man, and perhaps I don't realize when I impose upon others." The truth is that he was of an intensely social disposition, delighting in companionship and delightful as a companion. Like every other man of rare mind he demanded, as an essential condition of pleasurable intercourse, understanding and sympathy; and of the former he found too little. The range and the gravity of his thought was far too wide and too deep for the average man; therefore, the average man bored him. But when the companionship was upon even or sympathetic terms, no man could enter into it with higher zest. No member of *The Oregonian* staff of the period of the eighties will ever forget occasions when Matthew P. Deady,[1] William Lair Hill,[2] George H. Williams,[3] or Asahel Bush[4] would look in upon him. These were men of his own stamp, worthy of his steel, and in their company the very best of Mr. Scott's mind and the best of his vast knowledge were brought into play.

But, quite apart from men of his own intellectual rank, Mr. Scott had a considerable group of close personal friends. They were without exception men of some native and genuine quality. John Ward,[5] a famous politician of his day, a man representative in many ways of things Mr. Scott disliked, was nevertheless a close friend. He

[1] Matthew P. Deady, eminent Oregon jurist, born in Talbot County, Maryland, May 12, 1824; died at Portland March 24, 1893; see Compiler's Appendix, vol. II, p. 275.

[2] Mr. Hill is now a resident of Oakland, California; was editor of *The Oregonian*, 1872–77.

[3] George H. Williams, jurist, attorney-general under President Grant, foremost in reconstruction after the Civil War; born in New Lebanon, Columbus County, New York, March 26, 1823; died at Portland April 4, 1910; came to Oregon in 1853. See pp. 46, 103, this volume, and Compiler's Appendix, vol. II. p. 275. See also vol. V, pp. 163–71.

[4] Mr. Bush, of Salem, during many years was one of the striking figures in Oregon affairs. He came to Oregon in 1850; born at Westfield, Massachusetts, June 4, 1824; died December 23, 1913.

[5] John P. Ward, long known in Republican political affairs; born in Rhode Island June 30, 1833; came to Oregon in 1863; died November 7, 1919.

valued Ward not for profundity of knowledge or for graces of character, but for his unfailing common sense and for a certain rock-ribbed honesty. "I don't like Ward's business," he said to me one day, "as you must know. Nevertheless it takes very much of a man to be a political boss. Just consider a moment what the elementary qualities of his character must be. First of all, he must have honesty. No man who tells lies can find support in other men. No man who is careless about his word can have the respect of other men. No man who lacks loyalty can command loyalty I am pretty much of the opinion that it takes more of a man to be a good political boss than it does to be a bishop. Now, your bishop must either be a bit of a blank fool or something of a hypocrite. Either would be fatal to a political boss. Now, there is Ward; I have known him for thirty years. I would accept his word as final with respect to any matter upon which he presumes to have knowledge. I would leave uncounted gold in his possession. I would rather have his judgment upon a question within his range than that of any man I know. When it comes to sterling qualities, combined with working common sense, I don't know John Ward's equal. And I guess, when it comes to the sentimental side, our bishop has n't got much on Ward. I would as soon leave my estate in his hands as any man I know; and I would about as lief he would counsel my boys, as any clerical brother of our acquaintance. He would teach them to tell the truth and to keep faith and to be honest in all dealings. Now, if there be any better fundamentals for the business of life, I don't know what they are. Yes, and I do flatter myself that I know something about fundamentals — a few of the simpler sort."

There were other men for whom Mr. Scott cherished warm sentiments. The late Judge Struve [1] of Seattle was especially a friend,

[1] Henry G. Struve was born in the grand duchy of Oldenburg, Germany, November 17, 1836. He received an academic education prior to coming to America, at the age of sixteen. A few months later he went to California, and for six years engaged in mining, studying law and newspaper work, most of this time in Amador County. In 1859 he was admitted to the bar. In February, 1860, he went to Vancouver, Washington Territory, and bought the *Chronicle*, which he conducted for about one year. He then began the practice of law, which he continued in Seattle until a short time before his death. He made Vancouver

and there was always an evening of wise and hilarious talk when the two came together. Then there was the late Sam Coulter,[1] a man of quite another type, who interested Mr. Scott chiefly by a certain receptivity of mind. The late F. N. Shurtleff [2] was another to whom Mr. Scott gave his friendship on the score of a certain fundamental honesty of character. Still another friend was the late Medorem Crawford,[3] who could command Mr. Scott's time even upon his

his home for about eleven years, and, during that time, was elected to several different offices — prosecuting attorney, probate judge, both branches of the legislative assembly. In 1871 he went to Olympia, and the next year was in charge of the *Puget Sound Courier* for a time, and then was appointed secretary of the territory. In 1879 he removed to Seattle and formed a law partnership with John Leary, and from time to time J. C. Haines, Joseph McNaught, Maurice McMicken, John B. Allen, E. C. Hughes and other strong men made a part of the firm, others having been separated from it by death and resignation. There he took an active part in public life, politically and in municipal and educational affairs for many years, and became one of the foremost citizens of the place. He was married at Vancouver October 29, 1863, to Lassie F. Knighton, and four children were born to them, two sons and two daughters. He retired from active business early in 1904. After a brief illness he died in New York City June 13, 1905.

[1] Samuel Coulter was born in Ohio in 1832. He came across the plains to Oregon in 1850, arriving at Oregon City September 12, with two dollars in his pocket. Some time in 1852 he went to Thurston County, Oregon, and took up a donation land claim. In 1871 he was appointed collector of internal revenue by President Grant for Washington Territory. In 1873 he went into the steamboat business on Puget Sound; in 1878, in company with C. P. Church, he built the Esmond Hotel, Portland; in 1879 he was one of a company to build a part of the Northern Pacific Railroad from Cheney to Spokane; a little later, in company with two men, Messrs. David and Buckley, he laid out the town of Bucoda, Washington, and opened up a coal mine near that place. The name of the town was derived as follows:

Bu—ckley.
Co—ulter.
Da—vid.

Coulter died at Seattle July 1, 1907, leaving a wife and two sons. David died December 18, 1908. Buckley died November 14, 1894.

[2] Ferdinand N. Shurtleff went from Washington, D.C., to Iowa. He was married there in 1858, and crossed the plains to Oregon in 1862, locating in Polk County. He died at Portland April 6, 1903. He was a Republican, politically, and was in the Indian service for a number of years. He was collector of customs under President Arthur, 1881; in 1891 he was the manager of the Gettysburg cyclorama at Portland.

[3] Medorem Crawford was born in Orange County, N.Y., June 24, 1819; died December 26, 1891; came to Oregon in 1842 with Dr. Elijah White. He was several times member of the Oregon legislature. In 1861–63 he was captain of a

busiest day, although to no better purpose than to retell the familiar stories of his experience as captain of the guards which accompanied wagon trains across the plains in 1861–63. Each of these men had some quality of nature or some association with past times that made him companionable to Mr. Scott. If in any one of them there was some whimsical quality or habit, Mr. Scott saw it clearly enough. He had an amusing way of hitting off their foibles. For example, one day he came into my room and remarked: "I have got to find some way to keep 'Cap' Crawford occupied for about two hours. Can't you go out to Chinatown and buy some of the very worst cigars that are to be had for money — remember, the very worst — I would n't run the risk of reforming Crawford's taste in cigars." But in spite of this disposition to play upon whimsicalities, his tendency was to discover whatever was fine in a friend, and to pass over with amused tolerance things which he would have condemned in others. Where understanding was not available, he could be content with sympathy and appreciation.

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I cannot pass from this phase of Mr. Scott's character without reference to an incident which curiously exhibited the sentimental side of his nature. Between himself and the late Edward Failing, there was much in common in connection with much that was diverse. They were friends on and off for forty years, chiefly on the intellectual side of things, for they stood upon a common plane of mentality. At one time there had been a lapse of relations so profound that, for years, they passed and repassed without recognition. But an incident brought them together when both were well past fifty, and they saw much of each other, easily renewing the bond of early youth. I knew Mr. Scott was fond of Mr. Failing, but how fond I did not realize until the latter's death. Going into Mr. Scott's office, I said: "I have a sad message, Mr Scott; Edward Failing died an hour ago."[1] He sat with fixed gaze, as if upon nothing, for a full

company of soldiers that protected the Oregon Trail. He was collector of internal revenue at Portland, 1865–70; appraiser at Portland, 1871–76. See vol. 1, pp. 300–01.

[1] January 29, 1900. See p. 26, preceding.

minute, then rose and walked to the window, took up his field glass and carefully studied the glowing mountain. He turned toward me with his hands raised. "The last," he said, "the last of the friends of my youth — the last to call me Harvey!"

In the later years of his life Mr. Scott went much to the East. These visits he greatly enjoyed. His reputation, long an established quantity in the professional world, had expanded into fame. He stood among the leaders in his profession — a towering survival of the older and better fashion in journalism. He found, too, an appreciation among statesmen and men of affairs which was gratifying to him. No man of discriminating power, to whom Mr. Scott ever gave ten minutes time, failed to discover the metal of the man. Men like Henry Watterson [1] and Whitelaw Reid,[2] with whom he fell into cordial association, quickly saw that here was a mind of high powers. After a lifetime of isolation, he thus came in his later years familiarly into association with leaders in the world of national affairs. To the new relationship he brought the zest of one who had known little of the gracious phases of life outside his local circle. Without his being in the least conscious of it, it opened up to him something approaching a new career. Every man of laborious habit is more or less exhilarated under detachment from his customary tasks and by association with new people, and none more than Mr. Scott. With a pleasure not unmixed with pride, I recall an evening or two passed with him in New York, and in distinguished company, where in a conventional sense he held the center of the stage, bearing himself in it with a power and a charm which seemed almost like an effect of intoxication. Only a few months before his death, the late Whitelaw Reid told me of an occasion where Mr. Scott, with himself and others, dined as the guests of Archbishop Corrigan.[3] "Scott," said Mr. Reid, "came late and was obviously embarrassed by the fact that he had kept the company waiting for nearly an hour. His annoyance reacted in a kind of mental exhilaration. We were about

[1] Editor Louisville *Courier-Journal*; long-time friend of Mr. Scott's.
[2] Editor New York *Tribune* and later ambassador to Great Britain.
[3] Michael Augustine Corrigan (1839–1902), archbishop of New York.

twenty at dinner, Mr. Scott sitting at the left of his grace. Almost immediately, when the time for general talk began, a question addressed to him by the host brought from Mr. Scott a reply which exhibited his acquaintance with theological scholarship. The archbishop, obviously surprised, pursued the subject. Then with absolute unconsciousness, Mr. Scott on the one hand and the archbishop on the other, entered into the most extraordinary discussion I have ever heard. It began about nine o'clock and did not end until near midnight. Hardly another man than the host and Mr. Scott spoke a word. Indeed, it was practically a monologue on the part of Mr. Scott, but in perfect taste and surprisingly eloquent. Such a flood of knowledge, such wealth of reflection, such freshness and earnestness of mind, I have never seen matched in connection with a subject so outside the sphere of ordinary interests. For months after, if I chanced to meet anybody who was present at that dinner, there was sure to be reference to the extraordinary talk. The powers of the man, and his familiarity with theological matters, surprised all of us. We could but marvel that such a man could be a product of a pioneer country, living all his life remote from the centers of scholarship and of abstract thought."

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It was no doubt due to the conditions of Mr. Scott's early life as they have already been outlined that he had, or always assumed to have, little sympathy with personal incapacity or its consequences. I often thought him too much disposed to see the individual deficiencies which lay behind personal distress, rather than the distress itself. If self-indulgence or wasted energies had brought a man to want, Mr. Scott's impulse was less to relieve the need than to define the cause of it. He despised inefficiency with the whole brood of its causes. Yet he was much kinder in deed than in sentiment. More than once, when applied to for help in the name of charity, he would declaim with tremendous emphasis against the vices of incompetence, and end by yielding a donation. But broadly speaking, his attitude toward grown-up men and women who had neglected or dissipated their opportunities in life, was severely

critical. "He has thrown away his chances, laughed in the face of counsel, sneered at the lessons of experience — let him take the consequences." Something like this was not infrequently heard from Mr. Scott. But he had the tenderest feeling for childhood. Nothing so aroused him as suffering on the part of children, especially if caused by somebody's cruelty.

There was a citizen of Portland, now dead, whom Mr. Scott had known in the days when he was cutting wood for Tom Charman in Clackamas County. In this man, although they had little in common, Mr. Scott always cherished a profound interest. "What," I once asked him, "do you find in that man?" He replied: "One day forty years ago up Molalla way, as I was passing a farmhouse, I was attracted by the screams of a child manifestly in pain. I rushed into the barnyard and there found a boy of perhaps fourteen, triced up and under the merciless lash of a beast of a father. This man was that boy. I have never been able to get the incident out of my mind. To me he is always the little boy who was being cruelly flogged. I did at the time what the God of righteous vengeance required, then helped the lad to get away from home, and my interest has followed him from that day until now."

Some thirty years ago there appeared one morning in *The Oregonian* a pitiful story of a child abused by a brutal stepfather on a squalid scow-house up the river near the old pumping station.[1] The little chap had been whipped with a strap to which a buckle was attached, and it had cut into his flesh until he was gashed from head to foot. Mr. Baltimore,[2] of the local staff, had personally visited the scene and had helped rescue the victim of this cruelty, and he had made the account painfully graphic. Mr. Scott having read the re-

[1] At the foot of Market Street, Portland.

[2] John M. Baltimore crossed the plains in 1863 and grew to manhood near Salem. In the early seventies he was reporter on *The Oregonian*. Later he went to San Francisco where he became correspondent of the Western Associated Press. In 1883–85 he was reporter on *The Oregonian* and *Evening Telegram*, and in 1888 became city editor of *The Oregonian*, succeeding Sam R. Fraser. In 1891 he quit *The Oregonian* and became special writer on the *Evening Telegram*. In 1896 he went to Spokane and later to Oakland, California. He died at San Francisco in January, 1912.

port at home, came to the office in hot wrath. He was furiously impatient for Baltimore's arrival to have the story over again, and with fuller details. Then he stalked forth in search of the man. What he would have done I do not know — I can only guess — but I think it was well for the beast that he had slunk from sight. In multiplied other instances, Mr. Scott's sympathies for childhood were prompt and vehemently declared. He had nothing of mock sentiment; indeed, he never seemed particularly fond of children other than his own. Yet the distresses of childhood, from wherever they came, aroused him as nothing else ever did.

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Statesman Mr. Scott was, in the truest possible sense; but he was never, excepting for a time when he held an administrative office, an official factor in governmental affairs. He had little respect for ordinary officialism, and none at all for the type of man who contrives, by hook or by crook, to get himself elected to something, or who makes a trade of public office. Yet there was always in the background of his mind a certain yearning for the opportunities which only official station can give. "There is," he was wont to say, "but one platform from which a man may speak to the whole American people. A senator of the United States, if he have mind with knowledge and powers of expression, may have a great audience." But while Mr. Scott might again and again have been a senator if he had been willing to arrange for it, he could never bring himself to do so. In truth, he regarded with supreme contempt the concessions commonly necessary, under our political system, on the part of one who would take an active part in the responsible work of national legislation. I am sure that in the latter years of Mr. Scott's life, if he had been invited, under conditions calling for no compromises, he would have been very glad to have represented Oregon in the Senate. He would have enjoyed the associations, and he would likewise have been glad to bear a part in the discussions of great questions. But he could never have yielded to the political game the pledges which it demands. Nor would he have given attention to the multitudinous trivialities with which senators, par-

ticularly from the newer states, are forever pestered. Within two or three years of his death, Mr. Scott was brought to the test, through a tender on the part of the President of the United States of the ambassadorship to Mexico.[1] And at another time he was informally tendered a similarly dignified post in one of the European countries.[2] In each instance he declined the honor with thanks. When it came to abandonment of his customary relationships and responsibilities and his familiar ways of life, he was not willing to make the sacrifice. I suspect it would have been the same in connection with any other office.

Among Mr. Scott's intimates — among those of us who knew him in all the phases of his character — it has always been a subject of speculation as to how he would have carried himself as a senator. I am frank to say that in my judgment he would have failed to satisfy any constituency like that of Oregon, accustomed to a species of more or less eager subserviency on the part of officialism. If he could have represented a state like New York or Massachusetts, where the demands upon a senator are of a large intellectual kind, he would have made a noble record. But where every man capable of making his cross feels at liberty to write to "my senator" for any service at Washington, from the purveying of garden seeds to the securing of a contract for army supplies or the getting of a dissolute son out of jail, Mr. Scott would have been a disappointment. He simply would not have done the things required; and not doing them, he would have been thought neglectful of senatorial duties. Beyond a doubt Mr. Scott would have distinguished himself in debate. While no orator in the conventional sense, he could still express himself with mighty force upon his feet; and in prepared argument there has perhaps not been a man in the Senate, during this generation, whom he did not more than match. But at the point of getting things done — and unhappily senators are expected to get things done — he would hardly have been what is called efficient. His habits of mind and action were

[1] Tendered by President Taft in 1909.
[2] Tendered by President Roosevelt in 1905; minister to Belgium.

under the inspiration of independence. He could never have subordinated himself to the severely partisan method of doing things, and he would never have made compromises or have entered into bargains. In the Senate I think he would have been strong, brilliant, forceful but eccentric, and I fear, as regards what are called working results, an impotent figure. Success in the Senate is attained by methods wholly outside the lines of his genius and propensity of his habit and his sense of propriety. Mr. Scott often remarked, when efforts were made to stimulate in him the spirit of political ambition, that he would not "step down" from the editorship of *The Oregonian* into the United States Senate. And this was no boast; for the editorship of *The Oregonian*, as it was carried by Mr. Scott, was truly a higher place, a place of wider responsibilities and of larger powers than any official place possibly attainable by a man geographically placed as Mr. Scott was.

All who, like myself, shared in the advantages of close association with Mr. Scott, are fond of recalling a thousand trivialities which, small though they are, illustrate certain aspects of his character. No man was ever more scrupulous in all the essentials of personal habit; yet he had always a certain indifference to appearances. When free from domestic discipline — that is, during the absences of his family from home — he was wont to be exceedingly careless about his dress. Now and again one of us would remind him that he ought to get a fresh suit of clothes. Once, in response to this kind of suggestion, he appeared brand new, from crown to sole, and obviously conscious of the quite radical change. "How does this suit you?" he asked as he paused in my doorway. It happened to be at a time when waistcoats were cut high, barely exhibiting the collar and an inch of necktie. But the waistcoat of this new suit was extremely low. "Why," I replied, "has n't your tailor cut that vest a little low?" "Well," he replied, as he sought with a characteristic movement to get it into its proper place, "I thought it seemed a bit low, and I remarked it to the man, but he insisted, and this is what I got. I suppose one must make some concession to the style." I once reminded him that the braid had wholly disappeared from

the rim of his hat. "You say the braid is gone?" he said. "Now, don't you see that that hat has reached a perfect development? It has got where nothing more can happen to it." Nobody can know better than I that these be trivialities; but they linger in memory with a certain sweetness, and I venture to set them down for what they may be worth as illustrating a certain engaging simplicity in one who, the more I see of life, looms heroic in my firmament of men.

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I cannot feel that it would be in place to speak particularly of the domestic side of Mr. Scott's life. He was singularly and devotedly a family man — fond of his home, the devoted lover of the sweet woman who was his wife,[1] and a father to whom no labor or sacrifice was ever a weariness. He was not one to find entertainment at clubs, at theaters or at other assemblages; his closest interest outside of his office was within the four walls of home, and there he spent practically every hour that was not given to his labors or to out-of-doors recreation, of which he was fond. Formidable figure that he was in most relationships, he shed his austerities when he hung his hat on the hall rack. Many years ago, with practically the first considerable fund that was available for other than business requirements, he built the spacious and dignified house in which he lived to his death. He loved to adorn it with art and to enrich it with treasures. Yet his taste for other things never overbore certain definite sentiments. In the great library in which he passed the larger part of his time, the portrait of his father had the place of honor. The shelves which held his most valued volumes were made of boards retrieved many years ago from the pioneer house in Tazewell County in Illinois, built by his father's hands, and in which himself and his brothers and sisters were born. I hardly need to add that the man, whose propensities to domestic life and whose family sentiment was so marked a factor of his character, suffered nothing — neither his duties nor his studies — ever to interfere with the fondest of human obligations.

It was not Mr. Scott's way to talk much about the sentiments

[1] Margaret N. Scott; see this volume, p. 114.

which were the spiritual guides of his life and the sources of his power. But now and again, quite unconsciously, there would come from him that which revealed the inner springs of the man. Of many such utterances I think perhaps that, in which he set forth the character of the late George H. Williams, most clearly summarized Mr. Scott's own standards of intellectual and moral worth. Of Judge Williams Mr. Scott wrote:

> In him personal integrity, intellectual sincerity, intuitive perception of the leading facts of every important situation, quick discernment and faculty of separation of the important features of any subject from its incidental and accidental circumstances, with clearness of statement and power of argument unsurpassed, marked the outlines of his personal character. He was a man who never lost his equipoise, nor ever studied or posed to produce sensational or startling effects. In his private life and demeanor there was the same simplicity of character, evenness of judgment and temper and unaffectedness of action. His immense powers, of which he himself ever seemed unaware, were always at his command.[1]

Here we have not more Mr. Scott's view of Judge Williams than a presentment of his own ideals — his measure of a man.

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I come with reluctance to the end of a recital — for I have attempted only a recital — of things tending to illustrate the character and life of a very extraordinary and very helpful man. He came, as we have seen, into leadership of public thought in Oregon, at a time when the character of the country was in the making. His work in journalism lay at the sources of a stream of life which grew large under his hand from small beginnings, and must now go on expanding through indefinite years. It was at a time when great events were in the germ. The adjustments which followed the Civil War, the relations of the government to the Pacific world, the arrangements for commerce in this new world — these early pressed upon his attention to find in him a conscientious student and an intelligent and practical counselor. Then came the period of Western development with the momentous issues connected with it.

[1] From an editorial in *The Oregonian* April 5, 1910, the last important article written by Mr. Scott. Reprinted in Oregon historical *Quarterly*, XI, 223–26. See note, p. 35, preceding.

Following this came financial issues in many phases and forms, questions of alien immigration, questions growing out of the populistic movement, of labor organization, of socialistic agitation and of ten thousand subjects of high public import. To each of these in turn, and to all of them recurrently, the mind and hand of Mr. Scott were addressed. He shirked no labors, he avoided no issues. He felt himself under a high mandate, and he carried himself with the resolution which responsibility inspires in large minds. To changing fashions in journalism, he made almost no concession. He could no more have purveyed poisons to the mind than he could have fed poisons to the body. For the practices in journalism which we nominate "yellow," he had a profound detestation. He would have none of it. Whoever might wish for a paper reeking with uncleanliness and pandering, vicious or flabby trivialities for the light-minded, might seek elsewhere. Mr. Scott's purposes were serious, his journalism always dominated by high purposes and limited by a taste which rejected and rebuked all tendencies to carelessness or vulgarity. If there were scandalous incidents which must be reported, details were minimized and relegated to least conspicuous pages. If unpleasant things had to be dealt with, it was done, but with frankness and decency — in the gentleman's spirit. So, by the tendencies of his mind, by the gravity of his character, by the guides of wisdom, dignity, courage and taste — Mr. Scott planted on high ground and sustained for nearly half a century standards of journalism which must, for all time, be a pattern for the worthy and rebuke to the vicious.

For myself, whose fortune it was to live long in association with this rare man, to share in many of the influences and in a sense to inherit the inspirations of his life, there seems now a mighty void in the immediate world in which he lived. Lover of my motherland as I am,[1] let me confess a certain sadness when I revisit the home from whence the light of a great character has departed. It is as if Mount Hood were blotted from the landscape.

[1] Alfred Holman was born in Oregon. His parents, Francis Dillard Holman and Mary McBride Holman, were members of pioneer families.

REVIEW OF THE WRITINGS OF MR. SCOTT

This review of Mr. Scott's work is based on a collection of some ten thousand articles written by him in the course of his long and busy life.[1] Yet even this seemingly large number is small in comparison with the author's great work. It is no easy task to summarize the collection in the space here allotted; quite impossible to detail it minutely. Therefore we shall treat only most important general subjects, or rather, favorite ones of the editor's writing. And first, let us note the predominating idea of his editorial productions — his devotion to individual function and duty.

As each man's character is formed by ancestral and youthful environment, it may be interesting to note the conditions which molded the life of Mr. Scott. From his pioneer heritage of the Western frontier, he derived his vigor of utterance and personality. From this same experience he found his democratic sympathies; perceived national tendencies; gained breadth of view, which he extended by reading; learned humble toils and frugalities; brought himself close to feelings of Western folk, and acquired the principles of self-dependence and individual responsibility which mark all his work. He was a self-made man, had made his way as a youth, unaided, and gained rudiments of education through his own energies. It was but natural, therefore, that he continually urged habits of self-help on the later generation.

Mr. Scott was an individualist in personal habit, in precept, in lessons of industry, sobriety, economy — in all that works for personal thrift; an individualist in parental discipline of the home; an individualist in face of growing demands for "community help" and government paternalism. This ever-present idea in his writings will afford basis of understanding for his readers who may think back on what he published day by day, or who may examine his articles hereafter.

Let it be remembered that the American frontiersman and pio-

[1] This review, written by Leslie M. Scott, is reprinted from the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. XIV, no. 2, pp. 140–204.

neer expected to overcome obstacles in their path, alone. In time of savage warfare, they united, but this necessity was only occasional. When a barn was to be raised they met together, but this was quite in the nature of a "social function." For mutual protection, they sometimes "crossed the plains" in organized companies, but with danger absent, they chose to travel in small parties or alone. They supported community schools, but it is testimony of survivors that children learned rudiments of education chiefly at home. The whole mode of life of the pioneer West taught each person and each married couple to work out their own fortune, and to be responsible for their own spiritual salvation. It never occurred to them that the community owed anybody a living. Government was not depended upon to give a "lift" or to create a "job," or to regulate health or morals or wages, or to pension the unfortunate.

That this mode of life developed a hardy race, needs but bare mention here. It brought out resourcefulness, initiative, self-reliance. It fostered the democratic spirit, raised high the level of public and private morals. It barred caste and discontent of older communities. It is manifest that best traits have come out of the West. Mr. Bryce has said: "The West is the most American part of America." And a remark of another writer is equally true: "America was bred in a cabin" — a dwelling of logs, symbolizing the rough strength of the people.

Out of such life came the later editor, Mr. Scott, in Tazewell County, central Illinois. His father, John Tucker Scott, thought of moving to Texas, but instead came to Oregon, in 1852. The six or seven-year-old son — the editor-to-be — wondered if Texas was a less chilly abode and asked, "Father, is Texas a tight house?" This question indicates the crudity of the pioneer dwelling. With the family of John Tucker Scott came to Oregon sturdy principles of morality and industry, which invigorated the career of the editor. Mr. Scott always took sentimental interest in matters of Oregon history. These subjects held him with the filial attachments of a son toward his forbears. He delighted to lay aside even most

pressing tasks to "talk over" old times or to greet companions or contemporaries of his youth. His sanctum door was open to such visitors oftentimes when others could not gain entrance, and when his newspaper work suffered for the interruption. Once, George H. Himes,[1] meeting Mr. Scott when the latter was under heavy pressure of business, hastened to say that John Forbes,[2] of Olympia, a companion of Mr. Scott's in Captain Swindall's[3] company in the Indian war of 1855–56, was in Portland. "John Forbes! John Forbes!" exclaimed Mr. Scott. "Bring him to see me!" "But," hesitated Mr. Himes, "you're so busy." "Never mind, never mind! Bring him up!" A similar interview preceded an appointment for Bill Ruddell.[4] On each occasion Mr. Scott abandoned his editorial tasks and gave up a long period to the interview.

[1] Curator of the Oregon Historical Society, Puget Sound pioneer of 1853. See Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 275.

[2] John Butchard Forbes, born in Dundee, Scotland, May 14, 1833, came to the United States in 1834; settled in New Jersey, moved to Illinois in 1844. He started with his brother David across the plains on April 13, 1853, arriving at The Dalles September 25. Soon afterwards he went to Olympia and engaged in lumbering, farming and steamboating. He was in the Indian war of 1855–56, under Captain Calvin W. Swindall, commander of Co. F, Washington Territory Volunteers. In July, 1856, associated with Thomas W. Glasgow and Daniel J. Hubbard, he bought a Buffalo Pitts threshing machine of H. W. Corbett, Portland, for $1150, shipped it to Monticello by steamer, then knocked it down and shipped it piecemeal in canoes to Cowlitz Landing, and threshed for Cowlitz farmers. In June–July, 1857, this machine was taken to Puget Sound. This was the first thresher and separator north of the Columbia River. Its capacity, under the most favorable circumstances, was five hundred bushels in twelve hours. Mr. Forbes was married to Lydia Croghan in August, 1856, but she died within a year or two.

[3] Captain Calvin W. Swindall died at Oakland, Mason County, Washington, in 1866.

[4] William Hendry Ruddell was born near Quincy, Adams County, Illinois, November 7, 1839. He went to Missouri in 1842, settling in Schuyler County. He crossed the plains to Oregon in 1851, and spent the winter near the present village of Catlin, Cowlitz County. In the summer of 1852 the Ruddell family removed to Thurston County, then in Oregon, and settled six miles east of Chambers Prairie, six miles south of east of Olympia. He was married to Miss Helen Z. Himes February 21, 1864. His occupation was that of a farmer and stock raiser. He moved to Elma, Chehalis County, Washington, in the spring of 1879. He died March 13, 1903. He served during the Yakima Indian war of 1855–56 in the pioneer company commanded by Captain Joseph White, and afterwards by Captain U. E. Hicks. He was a member of the Elma town council for several years.

Mr. Scott was conspicuously a reader as well as a writer. His library was his place of recreation; to companionship of his books he devoted large part of his daily life. His reading was constant and unflagging to his last days. Never for long did he engage in conversation, except during after-dinner periods, when surrounded by friends or members of his family. That was his social intercourse. These intellectual after-feasts covered widest range of religion, history and literature, nature and spirit, matter and mind. The great storehouse of his memory yielded allusions and quotations which charmed his auditors with versatility. At such times, the editor truly unfolded the greatness of his mind, the universality of his talents, the accuracy of his memory, the maturity of his scholarship. Many were his philosophical and theological disquisitions; his narratives of great men and great events; his discourses on Shakespeare and Milton and Homer and Goethe and Dante and others. His touches on the moral and the spiritual delighted his hearers. He could talk on most intricate doctrinal subjects; none could speak more precisely on Fall of Man or Resurrection or Atonement. But he preferred reflections on daily good conduct and non-dogmatized deity. In these conversations his sincerity, humility and docility of spirit would have surprised the orthodox who, perhaps, that very day had stirred his resistance by their dogmatic efforts to repress him. Along with his fine literary, historical and religious perceptions, he possessed much practical sense for every-day affairs in these discourses.

These periods of his relaxation lasted an hour or two hours; then back he went to his desk or his books. The chief lesson of his daily life was his economy of time and effort. He entertained rarely and joined social gatherings seldom. Many persons thought him unsociable, reticent, taciturn, severe; whereas his were the direct opposite of all those traits. Without such habits he could not have covered the vast areas where his studies took him. His singleness of aim and unity of pursuit were to equip his mind with copious supply for his daily writings.

Most delightful of Mr. Scott's productions were his frequent writ-

ings on subjects of literature, history, and theology. These marked him as one of the ablest essayists of his day. Seldom does a scholar become a powerful editor. Scarcely any of the great editors have been great scholars. The editor of practical affairs, idealistic sense and scholarly attainment is the rarest combination. But such a combination was Mr. Scott. Amid his busiest work, dealing with current affairs, he would insert a frequent article on some phase of the genius of Shakespeare or on a theme of Milton, or Tennyson, or Cervantes, or one of a host of others. These commentaries on literary matters, so remote from centers of scholarship, were objects of surprise and admiration the country over. No man could have afforded his community wider variety of reading than did Mr. Scott. His favorite books were the Bible and Shakespeare, Milton and Burke. He re-read these constantly and had their contents always at command. Napoleon and Cromwell were especial objects of his study, and frequent subjects of his pen. British and French history were as familiar to him as that of his native country. His comments on foreign politics he spiced with historical references. The rivalry of European peoples gave scope for favorite themes of "Race Rivalry a Force of Progress," and "Potent Agency of War in Human Progress." For in Mr. Scott's view, strong and aggressive nations are the ones that arm and take and grow; war is the nursery of national strength; as injustice is always armed, so must justice be; without war despotism would be permanent and evil inveterate; the way to peace is not through nonresistance, but through preparedness for war; they who cannot fight can live only in subordination; no morality, no ideals, not backed with arms, can be worth anything; "so it has always been, and so it will be always, and forevermore." [1]

The favorite branch of his historical study was theology. To this study he brought a reverent, tolerant mind; also a rational interpretation that would not be deterred by protest of theologians who resented "invasion" of their sphere. His reading was so wide, his acquaintance with greatest scholars on historical religion was so

[1] *The Oregonian*, January 5, 1905.

extensive, that he could wage theological polemics to discomfiture of any orthodox.[1] He only defended his views, however; never attacked belief or dogma or creed, unless his inquiries were assailed. He never sought to upset any religion nor to dissuade from any belief; toward persons who found comfort in any church he was always considerate and sympathetic. But he thought that historical and rational study is not responsible for error or superstition that it reveals. Those persons who knew him well, knew his sincerity, his reverence for the universal idea of men toward Deity. Among his friends and admirers were theologians of many divergent sects. Archbishops Gross [2] and Christie,[3] the third and fourth heads of the Catholic faith in Oregon, regarded his writings with tolerant and admiring view. The Reverend Arthur J. Brown,[4] pastor of the leading Presbyterian Church in Portland, himself a clergyman of scholarship, paid friendly tribute to Mr. Scott. Many leaders of Methodism held him in high regard, and on October 10, 1908, he delivered an address in their leading church in Portland, at its semicentennial celebration. At one period he was a regular contributor to the *Pacific Christian Advocate* (Methodist) and was on intimate terms with most of its successive editors. On June 15, 1906, he delivered an address at Salem on Jason Lee and early Methodism in Oregon. Many years before, Methodists had chosen him president of Portland University. Rabbi J. Bloch [5] and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise,[6] of Portland, leaders of Jewish thought, found satisfaction in his writings. The Reverend Roland D. Grant,[7]

[1] These subjects made up the most extensive department of Mr. Scott's large library.

[2] Most Rev. W. H. Gross, archbishop of Oregon City, 1885–98; died at Baltimore, Maryland, November 14, 1898.

[3] Most Rev. Alexander Christie, archbishop of Oregon City since 1899.

[4] Rev. Dr. A. J. Brown, installed pastor First Presbyterian Church, Portland, May 9, 1888; resigned March 14, 1895, to become secretary of Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., New York City.

[5] Rabbi J. Bloch, head of Congregation Beth-Israel, Portland, 1884–1901; died May 3, 1916.

[6] Rabbi S. S. Wise, head of same congregation, 1901–06; now officiates at Free Synagogue, New York City.

[7] Rev. R. D. Grant, pastor First Baptist Church, Portland; died at Battle Creek, Michigan, August 21, 1912.

of the Baptists, opened his pulpit to Mr. Scott on Thanksgiving Day, 1895, for the best utterance Mr. Scott ever made on the subject of religion. In Congregational circles Mr. Scott found congenial association, and with that church maintained nominal affiliation. His friendly relations with the Reverend T. L. Eliot,[1] Unitarian, began with the arrival of the latter in Portland in 1867, and lasted until Mr. Scott's death. The Christian Science following liked the tolerant spirit of Mr. Scott, and extended to him the privilege of their platform for an address,[2] on November 15, 1903. Although these several sects represented diverging doctrines and his historical and rational studies startled the theologians of each in turn, yet most of them perceived him an exponent of modern scholarship in its inevitable trend toward a truer and fuller expression of religious faith. Ever present in his thought was the motto, "The form of religion passes; the substance is eternal." Men's battles of opinion are over the forms. "The religious nature of man continually struggles for expression," he said in his Thanksgiving Day address in 1895, "and its manner of expression changes from age to age. Yet we call each formulated, transitory expression a creed, as if it were to be permanent, and often contend for that creed as if it were the absolute truth; but it passes into something else in the next ages. Yet the religious feeling is the permanent force in the nature of man."

Occasionally there was protest from a clergyman who feared the editor's inquiries were sapping the strength of belief in particular sects. In 1909, the head of one of the largest church denominations[3] wrote Mr. Scott a letter saying that his articles were "cutting the ground from under the feet" of his church. The editor's response, by private letter, dated August 3, 1909, was the last comprehensive statement of his life study on this subject. As it epitomizes his opinions so completely, it is offered here in part:

[1] Dr. Thomas Lamb Eliot was pastor First Unitarian Church in Portland until 1891, and has since been pastor emeritus. He has been active in public benevolent enterprises. See Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, pp. 275–76.

[2] In this address Mr. Scott introduced Septimus J. Hanna, of Chicago.

[3] Charles W. Smith, Methodist bishop of Oregon, 1908–12. For text of letter, see *Religion, Theology and Morals*, Harvey W. Scott, vol. II, pp. 349–50.

The Oregonian "assails" no religion nor religious belief. It does not, however, deem itself forbidden to inquire into the concepts of religion or of theological systems — especially of such as most persistently urge their "claims" on public attention. *The Oregonian*, under my hand, has dealt with these subjects, as an incident of its work, these many, many years; very inadequately, I know — yet not to the dissatisfaction of the great multitude of its readers.

You, of course, it would not expect to please, since one who deems his own creed or formula the last word on religion can scarcely be expected to open his mind to other or dissentient views. Your position requires you to profess an infallibility. *The Oregonian* makes no such pretension. It simply wishes to apply the tests of reason, of experience, of judgment, and of such knowledge as history affords from the manifestations of the religious principle in man, to some of the phases of the thought and inquiry of our time.

Christianity is a fact and it is to be accounted for. You account for it in one way, I in another. You rest on the miraculous and supernatural; I do not — nor do I think there is wickedness in any inquiry into the origin of theological or ecclesiastical concepts, or in comparison of religions with each other, with a view to discovery of a common principle in all.

Your assumption that it is not a proper province of a newspaper to touch a subject which clergymen — or some of them — claim as their exclusive field, I cannot admit; more especially since, as a newspaper man, in active touch with the public mind during more than forty years, I have found no feature of *The Oregonian's* work more sought or approved than in the field from which you would bar it. I am old enough and have had experience enough to tender advice also; and I must assure you that you ought to begin to know, even if you can't acknowledge, that the greater part of mankind, even of the so-called Christian world, has a profound tendency toward a rational, historical and comparative view and interpretation of religions in their various forms — the Christian religion included with the rest. Dogma can no more support the mythical element in one religion than in another. The time is coming when Christianity will abandon the effort altogether; but its last stronghold will be the Roman Catholic Church.

Most persistent and successful of his many editorial efforts, was his perennial fight for "sound money." In this work he bespoke the intensity of the nationalizing purpose of the country. The contest for fiat money began as one of state sovereignty, involving local issues of note currency. With state rights conquered in the Civil War, the idea endured in questions involving payment of the war debt. Surviving that struggle came "repudiation" of 1866–70 — that is, payment in depreciated greenbacks — and then free silverism, which meant payment in debased silver coinage. Also surviving

the war, came demand for abolition of national bank currency, which had supplanted state bank notes. And, breeding out of the mania, was a train of numerous delusions about need of more money.

Not yet thirty years of age, when the sound money question sprang up after the Civil War, possessing no experience in banking or finance, new in his profession of editor, and far distant from the centers of the country's discussion, Mr. Scott applied principles and judged current issues with remarkable precision. His articles reveal wonderful acumen for an author so young. On every financial issue he started right, and subsequent events vindicated his views.

Throughout his newspaper life Mr. Scott was writing on currency and coin; almost daily he treated some matter of financial policy with application to Western life. His writings on these topics are models of directness, clearness and resourcefulness. The fruitage of his long struggle was the victory of the gold standard in the Oregon elections of 1896, in the face of tremendous popular prejudice and seeming defeat. This victory in Oregon was attributed to Mr. Scott by friend and foe, and broadened his national fame.

The American people have always been harassed with the "more money" fiat delusion. Among no other people has there been more absurd governmental interference with currency, affecting values, promoting speculation and upsetting confidence. Bitter lessons have been theirs with fiat currency, in colonial times, revolutionary and confederation periods, early years of national life, and during and after the Civil War. The delusion has possessed one generation after another that currency is capital; that citizens can be made prosperous with cheap substitutes for gold money. Even yet, the insidious fiat notion persists, though in lesser degree, than heretofore. Silver and paper currency were of doubtful redeemability, until the gold standard was secured in 1896 and 1900. Only strong, recuperative powers of the Nation have prevented overthrow of the gold standard of value and the good faith of the Government.

However much of the greatness of the American Nation has come out of the progressive spirit of the pioneer West, however puny or

different the American State would have been without the stimulus coming out of the land toward the setting sun, it is fair to say that out of this expanding land came also the financial and monetary heresies that have afflicted its politics, business and industry. The virile race of the West, restive under its poverty, confused capital with money, falsely thinking that, if currency be multiplied, capital could be multiplied also.

Himself, a son of the West, Mr. Scott knew its mind as to money and capital as intimately as any man could know it. This knowledge equipped him to cope with it in his skillful way. Perhaps no other writer of the day equaled him in this perception and in ability to meet it. His struggle through forty-five years was laborious, distasteful to himself, creative of personal animosities. He estranged his closest friends by sharp criticisms of their advocacy of silver coinage. But he regarded that issue the most critical in the country's industrial history, and he could not be deterred from his duty by matters of friendship. His appeals reached the sober thought of the commonwealth, and Oregon finally surprised the Nation by supporting the gold standard and rejecting Bryan, after its politicians and officeholders during many years had been committing the state to silver.

Money is to be gained from work, he used to repeat in his newspaper, not from the Government's printing presses nor from the stamping machine of the mint. Best money will be abundant enough if not driven out by cheap money — depreciated paper or debased silver. "Reasonable men do not expect to obtain money," he said, "unless they have something to give for it, either labor or goods. If money is to be easily had without effort, it will have little value. If best money is hard to earn, the people will not be benefited by cheap money. The only real money is gold. They cannot improve by issuing doubtful substitutes for it and declaring by law the substitutes just as good. To be just as good as gold, they must be payable in gold."

Right after the Civil War came the contest over payment of the war debt, then amounting to nearly three billion dollars. Con-

traction of the greenback debt — $433,000,000 — retirement of legal tender notes, made the first controversy. But these debt notes have continued from that day to this, an ever-present menace to stability of the Nation's credit and currency. The ablest financiers of both political parties have urged their retirement. The young editor took solid ground, therefore, when he insisted that these notes were not money, but evidences of debt; that their withdrawal would not diminish the circulating medium, but increase it and promote confidence; that their continuance necessitated heavy gold reserve for redemption, and was a costly menace to Government credit. Their use, he pointed out, tempted to evils of inflation. These evils he displayed clearly and often, both when greenbacks were at discount, prior to the year 1879, and later, when this credit currency and silver coinage were shaking the monetary stability of the Government.

Resisting contraction of greenbacks, Democrats also opposed redemption of such notes, or any of the Nation's debt, in gold. They likewise fought conversion of greenbacks into bonds. Led by George H. Pendleton and sustained by President Johnson, they wished to pay bonds and other debt paper in more greenbacks, especially printed for the purpose, then much below par. They also wished to tax Government bonds, despite a direct pledge of law that they should be tax free. Pendleton was defeated on these issues.

The policy of repudiation of the public debt, by payment in depreciated currency, instead of in full-value gold, was hotly contested. Mr. Scott insisted that the Government should pay its obligations in full in gold — both principal and interest — for thus only could the Government keep faith; that the debt, exchanged for notes, would not be paid, because the notes must still be paid; and that the notes could not be made as good as gold coin, unless redeemable in gold coin. The young editor had the satisfaction of seeing advocates of repudiation defeated in 1868–69.

It was no argument to the editor that large part of the Government debt was owing speculators who had bought the claims at

discount. Against numerous schemes for scaling down the debt, he used the vigor of his pen, with constant appeals to national honor. He cited that the same sophisms were then used against full payment of Government obligations, as after the Revolutionary War. "The scheme at that time was called 'scaling down the debt,'" he wrote December 6, 1867, "and though it was pressed with vigor and importunacy, it signally failed. Our fathers refused to sanction any such disreputable plan of virtual repudiation. Cannot the repudiators of to-day learn honesty, as well as wisdom, from the fathers of our Government?" And again November 18, 1867: "The proposition to pay the national debt in greenbacks is simply a proposition to take away an interest-bearing security from those who purchased in good faith the bonds of the National Government, and substitute for it a security that bears no interest. It would be equivalent to the act of a debtor taking away from his creditor a mortgage note bearing interest, and giving in its stead a due bill bearing no interest."

Against greenbackism, he was continually referring to pay day or redemption. The integrity of currency notes, he was always saying, depends on purpose and ability of the Government to redeem them in gold coin — not in depreciated paper promises. Of the plan to print enough greenbacks to take up the national debt — this was the programme of "greenbackism" — he wrote:

(February 18, 1878.) This would be a thorough and logical method of carrying out the greenback scheme. It would simply be repudiation of the entire debt; for there would be no hope that so great an amount of greenbacks would be redeemed; no time for redemption would or could be specified, and as holders would receive no interest the greenbacks would not possess a single quality of value.

(August 31, 1892.) While it is true that government may issue paper and call it money, yet it is with government as with the individual — that which costs nothing is worth nothing. There is no juggle in values. Many who see the paper bill, forget that there is value behind it, stored up in gold or silver; but the value is there, and this is what gives the paper note the function and character of money. Increase the paper notes beyond redeemability, and their value is gone or impaired altogether. Among all nations and in all ages where this has been tried, the result has been the same.

(April 8, 1898.) The truth is, we buy only with gold coin, to which alone

the name of money ought to be applied. No bank note, treasury note or paper certificate, in any form or by whomsoever issued, is more than an instrument of credit. It is an order and a security (so long as the party issuing it is solvent) for a sum of money, and is good for the sum it calls for, only so long as gold can be obtained for it. . . . We have more of the notes now than formerly, because we have more gold to stand for them; and we have more gold because we have ceased to expel gold from the country, or to drive it into hiding at home by ceasing the threat of free coinage of silver, and by stopping the purchase of silver for issue of paper upon it.

The right system of currency, he said, would be patterned after those of the great nations of Europe, which employ the medium of a great central bank. But Mr. Scott knew full well the popular prejudice in the United States against the central bank system, and did not hope for restoration of the Hamilton plan of government credit, which he always defended. Perceiving the futility of overcoming this prejudice, he had little hope that the American currency system soon could be brought to needed efficiency. The fundamental error of our currency he pointed out as follows:[1]

There is a fundamental error in our monetary system. It is the parent of all other errors that beset the system. This error is the fiat notion of money. . . . But these notes are not money. They are merely substitutes for money, whose value depends on their redeemability in gold or the prospect of it. . . . This, it is asserted, is cheap money, for it costs nobody anything. But the Government's fiat money is dearest of all forms of currency. It requires gold to be banked up in enormous sums for its protection. . . . It is an impeachment of the intelligence that tolerates such a financial or monetary system. . . . The treasury is simply warehousing gold against its own obligations. . . . With the enormous sum of one billion dollars in gold held by the treasury under our inelastic and immovable system, we are unable to keep circulation afoot. Every now and then it congeals, freezes up, simply stops. But the Bank of France and the Bank of Germany make their gold support a paper currency twice in excess of the proportion of our own.

The great need, he said, in order to give control and steadiness to financial affairs and the currency system, is a central bank and branches modeled after the United States Bank founded by Hamilton in 1791, and after government banks of Europe. On November 23, 1909, he wrote:

[1] *The Oregonian*, March 8, 1908.

HARVEY W. SCOTT AS EDITOR OF *THE OREGONIAN* IN 1865

Our people, believing they can regulate, by their votes, the value of money, and calling notes issued by authority of the Government, money, will not permit any rational currency or rational banking system to be established in the United States. . . . It is useless, therefore, to attempt a remedy now for the defects of our banking and currency system. We shall be compelled to blunder along with the system as it is, and to accept the consequences of such financial collapses as it will, at intervals, necessarily produce. Sometime we may become wise enough to have a great central bank, with branches all over the country, like the Bank of France, whose strength was so great that even the commune of Paris, in the ascendant in 1871, dared not touch it.

Greenbackism waned in strength after 1880, for then a new fiat doctrine was spreading — free coinage of silver at ratio of 16 to 1 — which largely supplanted the idea of fiat paper. The same arguments, in the main, were used against the silver heresy as earlier against the paper delusion; with the important difference that silver coins possessed bullion value, whereas paper currency had no intrinsic value whatever. Free coinage of silver could not be redeemable in gold money, nor could unlimited issue of paper currency. Both would make inflation, and debasement of silver would make depreciation of paper worse, because then the remote expectation of redemption in gold would be gone. Silver dollars would fall to their bullion value of between 76 and 46 cents;[1] paper currency would fall to whatever level credit confidence would give it.[2] Following the popular project of paying the national debt in greenbacks, came the scheme to pay it in debased silver dollars. Mr. Scott fought these later phases of fiat money as he did the earlier. When frequently asked, late in life, how he placed himself right on subtle questions of finance, even in their hazy beginnings, and kept consistent course through years of polemics, he was wont to answer: "By study of history I learned fundamental principles. By adhering to the principles of universal human experience, I pursued the right and logical course. I could not go wrong."

For versatility and force, the Oregon editor's treatment of free

[1] This was the range of the bullion value of the silver dollar in the years 1891–1901.

[2] In the year 1861 the value of the greenback currency fell to 39 cents.

silver is one of the most notable feats in journalism. It was the longest and hardest work of his career. It began in 1877, when silver advocates were first growing aggressive and when few conservative persons were aware of the danger of silver inflation. He ransacked his library for argument and example. He used his full literary skill to present the subject from all possible angles. Dealing with what he called "fundamental principles," he would tolerate no mere "opinion" from adversaries. He considered such opinion unread, untaught and ignorant. It was not a question, he said, on which men could differ or compromise, as on tariff. He gave large space in his columns to silver advocates, but made replies which excited them to charges of arbitrary and dogmatic intolerance.

Mr. Scott answered that ignorance was not entitled to opinion on principles as absolute as those of mathematics or money. "Somebody," he wrote on December 10, 1907, "asks if there can't be 'an honest difference of opinion about the gold standard.' There can be no honest difference of opinion where one of the parties knows nothing of what he is talking about. There may be honest ignorance. But it is entitled to no opinion." And on April 26, 1904: "The silver craze was the greatest menace the country ever knew. It has completely passed away. It was no ordinary question, on which difference of opinion was to be expected, but the standard was a matter of economics as certain as the truths of mathematics or of astronomy. Hence the notion, that some hold to this day, that there ever could have been any difference of opinion or question whatever, among men of honest intelligence, whether the gold standard should be maintained or the silver standard substituted for it, through free coinage of silver, is impossible. It was not a matter of opinion at all, and no more open to debate than the multiplication table."

In the midst of debate preceding the election of 1896, the strong words of the editor denouncing the silver fallacy were termed by an opponent "abusive." To which Mr. Scott replied, August 8, 1896: "It is not so; but when a man sets himself up to fight the book of arithmetic and to insist that something can be made out

of nothing, it is necessary to answer him plainly." But toward open-minded ignorance, Mr. Scott was always kind. Challenged in 1896 as "abusive," he retorted that plain statement of "fundamental principles" ought not to be termed abusive, and he then proceeded to state the "principles":

The Oregonian does not use abuse as a weapon against anybody. Persons have the habit of using the words "abuse" and "abusive" too freely. Plain statement of unpalatable facts, clear presentation of fundamental laws which contradict popular prejudice or excite popular passion, are resented as "abusive." *The Oregonian* pleads guilty to a certain dogmatism in discussing the silver question. There is no other method than the dogmatic, in dealing with fixed and unchangeable principles. . . . That the purchasing power of money is exactly equal to the commercial value of the material of which it is made; that when two kinds of money of different value are given free coinage and unlimited circulation, the cheaper, being preferred in payment of debts, drives the dearer out of use — these are laws as absolute and inexpugnable as those of gravity and chemical affinity. As well indict the fairness and temper of the teacher of mathematics who declines to discuss patiently the proposition that, with support of a government fiat, two and two might make five. . . . *The Oregonian* has no original knowledge on these subjects. Its wisdom is all secondhand. It has no information not accessible to every student. It knows that the fundamental principles of monetary science are absolute, because human experience for 2500 years so teaches. . . . They are the property of the human race. Only ignorance, presumptuous folly or selfish interest ignore or defy them.

Popular resistance to inexorable laws of money and value he declared futile, no matter what election majorities might be, and disasters that would come to a people from such resistance are inevitable:

In every country and in every age, there have been attempts to introduce cheap substitutes for money, and the results have always been the same — failure and disaster. Yet there is an instinctive popular feeling, and often a popular revolt, against the inexorable law of values, and multitudes, instead of conforming to it and working in accord with it, try in vain to get away from what they regard as its tyrannies. A people may thus bring disaster on themselves and ruin to their fortunes, but the law remains. . . . The coördination of knowledge gathered from the experience of many centuries is by no means an easy thing. Dependence, therefore, on great thinkers and writers, becomes necessary for the masses.[1]

[1] *The Oregonian*, August 27, 1893.

Mr. Scott lived to see the silver fallacy completely abandoned, and his resistance to it lauded from one end of the Nation to the other. His success may be better appreciated when it is noted that his own party — Republican — in several state platforms, in Oregon, sustained the silver propaganda and other times straddled it. Oregon had been represented in Congress by men who supported free silver, but in 1896 they and numerous other politicians, who long had fought Mr. Scott's money principles, were converted to the gold standard.

It need not be said that each advance of the silver propaganda was opposed by the Oregon editor at big personal sacrifice. Circulation and earnings of the newspaper which he edited were greatly depleted. Silver adherents were numerous and aggressive and probably a big majority of the population of the state in the early contest. He attacked the Bland silver act of 1878 and the Sherman silver act of 1890; pointed out that the Government was unable to circulate the silver currency provided in those acts because business would not retain it; showed that each act was depleting the gold redemption reserve; predicted disaster, collapse, and silver basis of values. These writings, covering a period of twenty years, are a marvel of literary force and reasoning power. From the first appearance of the silver delusion, in 1877, he predicted the financial crises that culminated in 1885 and 1893. On November 7, 1877, when silver advocates were pressing the issue that resulted in the Bland law, he said:

> A debased and unstable silver currency will take the place of gold as fast as silver can be coined. All the talk about a double standard is merest moonshine. Gold and silver, every one should know, will not circulate together when the former is so much more valuable. We shall load ourselves with silver coin and the benefit will fall to other nations, to which our gold will be exported as fast as it comes from the mints or the mines.

Yet so elastic was the resource of the country that the collapse was deferred much longer than he thought possible. The force that saved the Nation was President Cleveland, who drove repeal of the silver purchase law in 1893, and maintained the gold redemp-

tion fund of the Government. These acts, said Mr. Scott, earned Cleveland the lasting gratitude of the country. On the death of Cleveland in 1908, he wrote: [1]

> A man who performed services to his country at a critical time scarcely excelled by more than two or three of our Presidents, was Grover Cleveland. He was the man for a crisis and he had at once the intelligence, the purpose and the firmness to do his work. . . . No man of clearer vision, in a peculiar crisis, or more resolute to meet the demands of an occasion, has ever appeared in our affairs. His second election was one of the fortunate incidents of the history of the United States. . . . In all our history the act of no statesman has been more completely vindicated by results, and by the recognition of his countrymen, than that of Grover Cleveland in ridding the country of the financial fallacies that attended the silver fiat money propaganda.

In contrast with Cleveland's firmness, said the editor, was the vacillating policy of McKinley, who, during years in Congress, paltered with the silver question, failed to see it a dividing and uncompromising issue, and, with reluctance, allied himself finally with the gold standard in 1896. "The President's course," said the editor December 10, 1899, "has been one of indecision and hesitation. It has been the course of a politician fearful of the effect on his own political fortunes of any open and strong utterance or decided policy." And again, September 26, 1908: "McKinley tried sorely the patience of many, who understood perfectly that gold and silver had long since and forever parted company on the old ratio."

International bimetallism — free silver coinage by agreement of the great nations — Mr. Scott declared as impossible as the scheme for the United States alone, because laws of value would enforce themselves just as inevitably against international fiat; moreover, the great nations of Europe did not need free coinage of silver and did not wish it. While international conferences were held in 1867, 1878, 1881 and 1892, he kept hammering away at his principles, and scored the conferences as illusions and delusions and "bait for gudgeons." On July 15, 1890, he wrote:

[1] *The Oregonian*, June 25, 1908.

"The United States might as well invite the nations of Europe to join in giving practical effect to the dreams of Edward Bellamy, as to ask them to join in an agreement for free coinage of silver."

When one considers that the gold standard idea made slow progress and that the Republican party sought to evade it as an issue as late as 1899, the perseverance of Mr. Scott appears the more noteworthy. Affirmation of the gold standard in 1896 was followed by immediate recovery of confidence and credit and by unparalleled prosperity. Immense stores of gold were released. Mr. Scott occasionally referred to the vindication of sound money doctrine in his subsequent writings. On November 3, 1907, he said:

> All the prophecies of the silver propaganda were at once refuted by recovery of business and credit. But the propagandists of silver ever since have been trying to cover up their confusion, by the declaration that the recovery has been due to the increased production of gold. It is as shallow an assertion as any other pretense of the silver craze. There was gold enough, had it not been driven to foreign countries and into hiding places at home by continual injection of over-valued silver into the circulation of the country. . . . Foreign countries, free from fiat money demagogues, had money enough.

Again, on April 8, 1908:

> Of this illusion it may be said that not the wildest dreams of the alchemist or of those adventurers who sailed in quest of the Eldorado, were more extraordinary instances of the human power of self-deception. This prodigious fallacy had its origin in the equivocal use of a word [dollar].

The gravest crisis in the industrial history of America, in Mr. Scott's view, was presented by the silver issue in 1896. Both before and after the event he held that opinion. Early in 1896 he went to Mexico, so as to learn conditions in that silver-standard country, for information of his Oregon readers. Writing from Mexico City, February 20, 1896, to *The Oregonian*, he said:

> Here in Mexico is the place to observe the workings of cheap money, of money based on the market value of silver. Such money gives but a pittance to labor and debases humanity.

Similar debasement of United States silver coins, he declared, would shake the Nation terribly. On November 6, 1894, he wrote editorially:

> The plunge to a debased standard of money would produce disorders in finance, industry and general business, more frightful than this country has yet known, or the world has ever seen, except perhaps the French Revolution of a century ago.

On August 9, 1896, he described the danger thus forcefully:

> Never was any question, contested between parties, of so mighty import to the people of the United States. It involves a tremendous responsibility, not merely for the present, but for all future time; for, if we go wrong on this subject, we shall have done an act that will produce conditions under which the whole character of the people will be changed. Here, indeed, is the test of success or failure of popular government. If we take the silver standard, it will gradually produce conditions under which the masses of the people will sink to lower levels, because labor, paid in inferior money, will not get its accustomed rewards. Continuance of these conditions will within a few generations effect a transformation of the national character and a national reduction in our scale of civilization.

In the evening of his life the editor was wont to laud the "unselfish patriotism" of "gold standard" Democrats who quit Bryan and voted for McKinley in 1896, in numbers sufficient to turn the election — the popular vote being: McKinley, 7,164,000, Bryan, 6,562,000. On January 23, 1908, he referred to them thus appreciatively:

> In every community to this day the names of these men are remembered. They saved the country from a financial and industrial disaster greater than it has ever known.

Mr. Scott was called to the editorship of *The Oregonian* just after the assassination of Lincoln. His article, "The Great Atrocity," was published April 17, 1865. Here was a tragedy in the greatest of all political contests in America. Broadly stated, the issue of the contest was between nationalism and state sovereignty, between ideas of Hamilton and Jefferson, between negro slavery and freedom, between North and South. During the whole period of his career, Mr. Scott was called upon to discuss this issue in its many

collateral aspects, as the persistent one separating the two great parties. Almost his last article, April 14, 1910, related to the tragedy of Lincoln. His long-matured opinion he thus expressed:

> On this night, April 14, forty-five years ago, Abraham Lincoln was shot by an assassin; a crime as foolish as horrible. It changed (not for the better) the whole course of American political life, from that day to this, and it may be doubted whether we shall ever escape from the consequences of that horribly mad and criminal act.
>
> The irrational division of political parties to-day is a consequence of this crime; and no one can see far enough into the future to imagine when the course of our history, set awry by this act of an assassin, will resume rational or normal line of action.

The young editor was confronted, after the Civil War, with large questions of reconstruction. Opposed to slavery and disunion, he had to meet a hostile and bitter element. As a son of the Frontier West, he was born a nationalist, and the nationalist idea grew with his manhood. Always in his editorial life that idea spurred him on. But there were many Democrats in Oregon before the war, and more of them afterwards. On the secession and slavery issues they lost to the Republicans, but in 1865–67 they won back the state. Issues of reconstruction made acrimonious politics. A leading figure in the national policy was George H. Williams, senator from Oregon, who originated many measures, including the fourteenth amendment. Senator Williams found Mr. Scott his ablest supporter. Friendship between the two, then begun, continued as long as they lived, and on the death of the senator, the editor wrote a beautiful tribute and farewell. It was his last large work, for soon afterward sickness stopped his further writing.[1]

Articles of Mr. Scott's, during the reconstruction period, display moderate and lenient spirit toward the South, yet unyielding demand for extinction of state sovereignty and slavery, and for the establishment of national sovereignty and negro freedom. Sovereignty, he insisted, then lay in the victorious North, yet not for vindictive or despotic purpose. He never reconciled himself to

[1] See page 46, this volume.

negro suffrage, and in his later life, when partisanship disappeared, he felt free to say that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments "made a mess of it," [1] and that "it is not to be denied that the evils of indiscriminate negro suffrage in our Southern states are too great to be permitted." [2]

The editor's paternal forbears were loyalists of South Carolina; then pioneers of Tennessee, Kentucky and Illinois. In Kentucky, the birthplace of his father was near those of Jefferson Davis and Abraham Lincoln. Currents of westward expansion merged from South and North in the Ohio Valley, thence diverged northward, westward and southward. Mr. Scott's people abhorred state rights and slavery; in other matters they felt sympathy with the South. After these two issues were eradicated, Mr. Scott felt that sympathy recurring. The negro question in the South he knew a natural one in the white population, and not to be argued away. In his later life he often said that disfranchisement or submission of the negro was inevitable. He foresaw that Northern sentiment would not strongly resist disfranchisement; commented often on its growing acceptance in the North, and on the baseless fear in the South that the North would uphold the negro.

"The negro, in every state where the race is very numerous," he wrote on January 7, 1909, "has been almost wholly disfranchised; and the disfranchisement is based on conditions and regulations not likely to be shaken for a long time, if ever. Negro domination, therefore, is no longer a bugbear or terror. . . . The experience of forty years has shown the Greater North that the South must be left to manage this great matter for itself." Seven years earlier, when Republicans appointed a partisan committee to inquire into disfranchisement of Southern negroes, he condemned the plan as "useless and silly." "On this subject," he added, "there has been a mighty lot of experience during the past thirty-five years, and it is useless to challenge repetition of it." [3]

Not less useless and silly he deemed the negro question in the

[1] *The Oregonian*, December 25, 1905. [2] *Ibid.*, August 8, 1907.
[3] *Ibid.*, March 23, 1902.

South. He called Southern fear of the negro and of Northern prejudice, "a strange nightmare," [1] and an antiquated prejudice. "Why should not the Southern people think of other things than the everlasting negro?" [2] He pointed out repeatedly that the "nightmare" or "prejudice" was harmful to Southern progress; that it allied the South with repugnant notions of the Democratic party of the North, such as free silver coinage, opposition to territorial expansion in 1898–1900, and socialistic hostility to private business and property. He could perceive in his last years the slow drift of the conservative South away from the radical Democratic party of the North. But the change was so slow he would risk no prophecy as to proximity of the outcome. "The negro question," he wrote February 4, 1909, "was the source of the Civil War; it has been the main division of parties since; yet now that the Southern states are finding out they are no longer to be interfered with, in this most important of all matters that concern them, their natural conservatism on other matters asserts itself and takes a new course."

Between the two chief political parties, the main line of demarcation continued to be the national idea, Mr. Scott frequently wrote, when others complained, as in 1904–08, that they could see party distinctions no longer. "The influence of nationalism is the mainspring of party action," he said February 2, 1908, "and must continue to be such. In this national aspect of parties and politics, lies the reason why *The Oregonian*, throughout its whole life, has acted in politics with a view to efficiency in national government. The best exponent of this principle has been the Republican party. During fifty years the Republican party, depending on authority and insisting on the use of it, has done everything. It has been strong, because it is the party of national ideas. In many things the Democratic party has been a helper, doubtless; but a helper chiefly by its opposition. . . . Most conspicuous display of this fact was when it elected Grover Cleveland to the Presidency in 1892. Cleveland was an asserter of high central author-

[1] *The Oregonian*, November 11, 1904. [2] *Ibid.*

ity; and, discovering this, his party exclaimed that it had been 'betrayed' and it repudiated him. Ever since it has followed the Bryan standard." [1]

Party was to Mr. Scott a means to an end, not the end itself. He was too broad-minded to think virtue in a mere party name, or to follow party as a fetish. The Republican party was for him the exponent — the only one — of concentrated and centralized power, in resistance to local authority and disintegration, and in transformation from a federal to a national republic. "During fifty years the Democratic party has stood for nothing that the country has desired or could deem useful to it. If anything of constructive policy has come out of the Democratic party these forty years, one would like to be told what it is. This party of opposition has not been useless. Its use has been to force the Republican party at intervals to justify its aims and claims." [2]

While the editor had the statesman's lofty view, he was yet an indifferent politician. He cared little about the "offices," nor would the controlling bosses have permitted him to participate in the spoils which his efforts so often put in their hands. His influence with them in party organization was always little or nothing. But his power with the voters, on an issue such as free silver, was to be reckoned with. Often, when unable to sway politicians on matters of party policy, his appeal to the public brought result. He never permitted petty questions of an hour or a day or a locality to blind him to the main issue ever confronting the country. Right up to the last of his life he continued to reassert the issue. "On trifling events men frequently scatter in considerable numbers from the parties they commonly act with; but any event or proposition of real importance will bring them back." [3]

The long struggle for national unity was symbolic, the editor used to say, of all democratic progress. A democracy, in finding its way, gropes in darkness of passion and ignorance, but finally, by its own force, is sure to take the best way, yet most of the time because

[1] *The Oregonian*, November 15, 1909.
[2] *Ibid.*, May 30, 1904.
[3] *Ibid.*, November 15, 1909.

it exhausts all possible ways of going wrong. So with the unifying process in the Nation. "It takes a long time to teach a democracy anything — that is, any important principle. Tendency of democracy is to subdivide. It is driven together only by large industrial and national forces, which it resists as long as it can. It took a great while to bring a scattered American democracy, planted in separate colonies, together in national unity; and the process required a bloody civil war — perhaps the bloodiest in all history. It took a long time and strenuous effort and a financial catastrophe, among the worst the world ever has known, to cure the American democracy of the fallacy of trying to maintain a fictitious money standard. . . . It will solve the tariff question rightly after a while — that is, after it has tried every possible experiment of going wrong."

The reader should not infer that there was hostile spirit in Mr. Scott toward democracy; it was critical and philosophical, merely. No person could have been more intensely democratic in mind or habit. The professions of aristocracy, in politics or elsewhere, were to him abomination. Only in democracy did the sentiment of justice have full sway. "The spark of justice and the fires of human freedom are kept alive in the hearts of the common people, 'the plain people,' as Abraham Lincoln called them." [1] And "the most potent of all forces is democracy in its fighting mood." [2] Popular self-government was worth all its effort, however strenuous. It was the only security for freedom.

Mr. Scott regarded as an urgent national need the great isthmian canal. Its unifying influence, he foresaw, would stimulate growth of the national spirit. He began writing on "The Darien Canal" in 1867. His discussions of the Panama and the Nicaragua and other routes were frequent. He believed that this waterway would consolidate the country and eradicate local narrowness even further than railroads have done. It would uplift America's world influence and upbuild America's sea power. The opportunity grasped by President Roosevelt for making this waterway American, he commended as a grand stroke of statesmanship.

[1] *The Oregonian*, April 2, 1884. [2] *Ibid.*, December 20, 1905.

When the young editor entered the post bellum controversy, the leading Democratic organ in Portland was the *Herald*, whose editor, in 1866, was Beriah Brown.[1] This veteran of journalism undertook to discipline the "boy editor." But the boy proved himself more than a match for the "veteran." Their disputes brought out a subject on which Mr. Scott wrote with growing power — the Jeffersonian origin of secession. Editor Brown, after the style of good Democrats, exalted the memory of Jefferson. Editor Scott dug up history to show Jefferson the architect of state sovereignty and rebellion; hostile to constitution and nationality; assertive of Federal league; author of the Kentucky resolutions; sympathizer with the Whiskey Insurrection and Shays's Rebellion; distrustful of courts and judiciary; covertly hostile to Washington. All this the young editor supported with such array of reading as to spread wide his reputation. One of his terse and direct remarks was the following:[2] "It is now an accepted national and historical fact that the doctrines promulgated by Jefferson for partisan purposes, in opposition to the administration of Washington and the elder Adams, were the fundamental cause of the Great Rebellion. In none has the maxim, that the evil that men do lives after them, been more fully illustrated than in the case of Thomas Jefferson." And near the end of his life the editor outlined the same view as follows: "Jefferson was the man who, after the formation of the Constitution and the making of the Nation under it, for partisan purposes, set up the claim that there was in fact no nation, no national government, but only a league of states, that might be abandoned or broken up by any of the members at will. This was the Great Rebellion. This was the Civil War. He was the evil genius of our national and political life."[3]

Progress of the Hamilton idea, after its triumph in civil war, was often a theme of Mr. Scott's comments on current events. "The

[1] Beriah Brown came to Portland from San Francisco in 1866. He spent his later life at Puget Sound. See Compiler's Appendix, this volume, pp. 276–78.
[2] *The Oregonian*, November 1, 1869. [3] *Ibid.*, February 23, 1909.

course of history during twenty years past has vindicated Hamilton, demonstrated his marvelous prescience and discovered to the country the immense extent of its obligations to him. To Hamilton the country is chiefly indebted — to him it is indebted more than to all others — for the creation of a National Government with sufficient power to maintain the national authority. He it was who, foreseeing the conflict between pretensions of state supremacy and the necessary powers of national authority, succeeded, in spite of tremendous opposition, in putting into the Constitution the vital forces which have sustained it. Appomattox was his victory. . . . The glory of Hamilton is the greatness of America." [1] And on February 12, 1908, the same thought moved him to say: "The idea is growing that the Government of the United States is no longer a Government of limited powers, but may cover all local conditions. This is a vindication of the principles of Hamilton against those of Jefferson." The fame of the Virginian, said Mr. Scott, will rest, in future history, on his acquisition of Louisiana and Oregon; this greatest of his works will fix him in history as the Nation's chief expansionist. Acquisition of Louisiana was "the most important of all the facts of our history because it created the conditions necessary to our national expansion and consolidation." And after Louisiana came the United States claims to Oregon. "Philosophy of History" was a favorite pastime of Mr. Scott, and he applied it in his later life to the main currents of United States history — Northern and Southern. On July 11, 1902, when introducing Henry Watterson [2] at Gladstone, near Oregon City, he reviewed these two strains of national life in an address which awakened Mr. Watterson's admiration.

The new expansion across the Pacific following the Spanish War was, in Mr. Scott's opinion, a logical pursuit of national ends. It opened a new destiny for the American republic. It meant great national power at sea, and expansion of ocean commerce, leading to American dominion of the Pacific. "The Nation's wider horizon

[1] *The Oregonian*, December 18, 1880.
[2] Henry Watterson, editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*.

is seaward." [1] It followed a law of constant expansion of territory — a law of national progress which had united the country and ever extended its frontier. It would prove anew the assimilating power of the American State; would broaden the country's spirit and its outlook on the world, because intercourse with other nations gives the most powerful stimulus to progress, and no nation liveth unto itself alone. It would banish from home politics fallacies, which would be generated otherwise out of American isolation; among such had been fiat money and absurdities of socialism. It would promote the growing leadership of America among the great powers. The Democratic party was then fighting the changed policy, calling it "imperialism" and "militarism" and "government without consent of governed" — issues of Bryan from 1898 to 1904. Mr. Scott scored the opposition as an affront to American intelligence. These issues were false and unworthy of a political party which, for generations, had negatived them in domination of negroes in the South. Filipinos would not be "enslaved," as the Democratic party asserted would be their fate under American rule, but would be accorded larger measure of political and personal freedom, than they ever had before or could have under any other government. Even before the war with Spain, the editor frequently told his readers that expansion was the rule of national life. "Neither races nor individuals change their nature, and the laws of history cannot have fallen in sudden impotence in the nineteenth century.[2] . . . We shall go on extending our limits, so long as the vital impulse of our nationality is not exhausted. When we lose the impulse to expand, it will be time for some other people to take the primacy of the Western Hemisphere out of our failing hands." On October 8, 1898, when the war with Spain had delivered the Philippines to the United States, he wrote: "Men and ideas now leap oceans easier than they then (Washington's time) crossed rivers; and the notion that American ideas cannot pass beyond this continent is a strange shortsightedness, reserved fortunately, as we believe, to a small

[1] *The Oregonian*, July 12, 1898. [2] *Ibid.*, April 22, 1893.

proportion of our people." The new destiny inspired him to appeal to the sentiment and fancy of his readers. When the National Editorial Association assembled in Portland in 1899, he welcomed the members in an address which outlined his conception of the new expansion as follows (July 6):

> The East has been treading on the heels of the West, yet never has overtaken it. Latterly, the West has taken ship on the Pacific, and, through one of the movements of history, has overtaken the East. America has put a new girdle around the earth; and the West has moved on, till it has reached the gateway of the morning, over by the Orient where the men of the United States are planting the banners of a free civilization. . . . We are now making distant excursions, led thereto by a march of events, whose direction we could not foresee. But wherever we go we shall carry our great national idea, push it to realization and accomplish the great work of organizing into institutions the inalienable rights of man. . . . Realization that our country faces the Pacific as well as the Atlantic, starts a new era of our national history, and, indeed, a new epoch in the history of the world.

A decade after acquisition of the transpacific islands, the editor was as ardent an expansionist as his forbears had been in spreading to Kentucky, Illinois and Oregon. On January 1, 1908, at the time of the round-the-world voyage of the American fleet, he said:

> Every modern philosophical writer declares that the first grand discovery of modern times is the immense extension of the universe in space. The idea shows man where he is and what he is. And the second great discovery is the immense and perhaps limitless extension of the universe in time. . . . It is with political geography that we are now immediately concerned. The Pacific Ocean is becoming more and more the theater of new interest for mankind. Here, on the American shore of this greatest of oceans, we face new movements and new destinies. . . . Commercial movement and industrial forces depend always in great degree on political influences. With due regard for the rights of others, we want our just share — which is to be a large share — of the sovereignty of the Pacific.

An ever-recurring question, vexing the country during most of Mr. Scott's period, even yet unsolved, was tariff. Nor could Mr. Scott see solution of the complicated matter in the near future. It may be fit here to outline his views on this subject, for he was consistently opposed to the long protective policy of the Republican party, and the present protective policy of the Democratic

party. Free trade, or tariff for revenue only, belonged to his stock of first principles; protection was not a principle, at all; only a temporary policy and a deluded one. Never would the tariff be settled, for any length of time, until protection should be eliminated. The system is maintained, he said, because many localities, including Oregon, seek special advantages for themselves, and combine their forces to impose import tax for benefit of their own products — Oregon's being chiefly wool. All localities together are hostile to each neighbor's part of the spoil, so that no protective tariff law can long exist. Such tariff, he used to say, will wreck the fortunes of any political party. As proofs we see the wreck of the Democratic party after the Wilson bill of 1893, and later the wreck of the Republican party after the Payne-Aldrich act of 1909. He averred it is impossible to unite men long on any protective tariff scheme, because high moral enthusiasm, sentimental idea, are lacking. "The difficulty of uniting many men in permanent alliance for a common object," he asserted September 27, 1909, "increases as that object appeals less and less to any disinterested affection or high inspiration, and rapidly proves itself insuperable when it sinks into a mere scramble of greediness and vanity." A week earlier (September 20) he remarked: "It involves no contest of lofty opinions about justice or righteousness, the rights of democracy or the maintenance of the dignity or authority of the Nation. It is trade and dicker, barter and swap."

The policy, declared Mr. Scott, takes wrongfully from one man to bestow upon another; thus confers special privilege. All cannot enjoy the benefits; a few do, and for those few the many, who have no products to protect, are taxed. The rational tariff duty would be imposed on articles of universal consumption — food, drink and clothing — such as tea, coffee, tobacco, wine, spices, sugar and luxuries in high-class textile, leather and metal goods and special luxuries of the rich. "The general principle of 'tariff for revenue only,'" he wrote, September 2, 1892, "is that we should admit, free of duty, such commodities, except luxuries, as we produce in our own country, and lay duties on such commodities of foreign production as we

largely consume yet cannot, or do not, produce ourselves." Such settlement would put an end to the continuous brawl in Congress and throughout the country, over the protection of one set of interests at the expense of others or at the expense of consumers. Anything short of it would leave the subject open to perpetual contention and strife; for protection was not an equal policy; never could be. Its most direct consequences were creation of monopolies and enrichment of a few at expense of the many. Protection, conferred on manufactured goods yet denied to raw products, he said, was discrimination to which Western and agricultural communities would not submit. Protection had for its primary defense higher resultant wages for labor; but labor enters into production of raw materials just as into their manufacture.

The editor never regarded protective tariff as an enduring policy of the national Republican party. He considered it a more natural one for the Democratic party, with its local habits. He believed, therefore, that the parties eventually would shift on this question, the Republican to champion tariff for revenue, the Democratic to advocate tariff for protection. "Tariff for revenue only," he said August 8, 1909, "will become the demand of the North sooner than of the South. But there will be no result, these many years." Again: "As a party of national authority, the Republican party will find the ideas of the local protectionists less and less suited to the policies for which it stands and must stand."

In the early eighties, a common argument used for protective duties was that tariff would help maintain a favorable balance of trade. This was too flimsy to withstand the editorial broadsides of Mr. Scott's writings. Thirty years later a fresh idea sprang up in defense of protection — an adjustment of rates, "based on difference in cost of production at home and abroad," so as to afford protection only to industries that really "needed" it. This was the last phase of tariff that Mr. Scott lived to attack. On April 6, 1910, he said: "It is impossible to ascertain the differences between the cost of production here and abroad. Variations of opinion on this subject will be irreconcilable and endless. . . . The differences

will shift and vary continually. None of these differences is, or ever will be, a fixed quantity or a steady quantity for any length of time. . . . New factors are continually entering into all processes of manufacture; and cost of materials varies from year to year. Cost of production, being extremely unstable abroad, how can it ever become a basis on which protective tariff laws can be framed for our country?" Beginning in 1880, reciprocity was a frequent subject of discussion and legislation. By this policy, the United States was to admit certain goods of certain other nations, if such nations would admit certain goods of the United States. The scheme never attained much success, owing largely to American unwillingness to lift tariff on favored articles. Mr. Scott said that reciprocity was incompatible with protection. "You never suspect that reciprocity is sincere, when you look at its advocates. They never reciprocate except for their own gain at somebody else's loss." [1]

At two periods, Mr. Scott's firm stand for law and order and his unsparing denunciation of disturbers of peace evoked bitter resentment and even mob excitement — in 1880–86, when Chinese suffered violent attacks, and in 1894, when Coxey armies were mustering and marching on Washington, D.C. In each case the editor's English denounced the exciters and the doers of violence, in his most vigorous style. Threats were often heard against his life, and he deemed it prudent to guard his newspaper office against any possible assault. Labor agitators were foremost in these crises, and they were greatly exercised by the editor's criticism of their doctrines of labor; for Mr. Scott, through his long experience as a laborer, had learned lessons of industry which enabled him to put up effectual arguments against their claims and theories and to drive home his arguments by his own example.

Mr. Scott always held the Chinese an undesirable infusion into American population, yet useful for menial labor. He opposed forceful ejectment of them from the United States, but supported the plan of exclusion, which in 1882 was enacted into law. Under the treaty of 1868 with China, immigrants from that country were

[1] *The Oregonian*, January 19, 1902.

guaranteed free ingress into the United States. This treaty held until 1880, when a new one gave this country the privilege of regulating this immigration. An exclusion act of Congress in 1879 was vetoed by President Hayes, because violating the treaty of 1868. Finally, in 1882, exclusion was effected by an act which has been continued up to the present time.

There is little doubt that refusal of the United States to admit hordes of Chinese laborers has been best for the internal peace of the Nation, although the Pacific Coast region has suffered thereby for lack of efficient laborers. Mr. Scott clearly foresaw both the social need of exclusion and the industrial need of Chinese labor on the Pacific Coast. The former need he regarded as the determining one. The immediate theme of his writings, during the critical time of anti-Chinese agitation, was the treaty rights of Chinese in this country to protection against mob violence. He condemned in unsparing terms the cruel attacks made upon them by agitators and mobs, whose cry was, "The Chinese must go!" He pointed out that attacks upon the persons of the alien residents would involve the United States in international complications with China, and bring discredit upon this country among foreign nations. He declared that industrious Americans had nothing to fear from the labor competition of Chinese. The crusade against Chinese was general on the Pacific Coast in 1880–90, and in several places the aliens suffered, as at San Francisco, Tacoma and Seattle. Portland had less disturbance than other cities of the coast — in which Mr. Scott both bespoke and guided the temper of his city.

During more than thirty years and from his first to his last utterances on the Chinese question, Mr. Scott insisted that the problem was not one of labor, but of race. It was neither true nor important that Chinese were doing work that white men otherwise would do, or taking "jobs" away from American citizens. The real objection to them was that they were not an assimilable element; could not fuse with the white population; in other words, race antipathy existed which was not to be overcome by argument, and which would cause discord and continual upset in the political and social body.

In 1869, the editor pointed out that labor wages here — then about fifty per cent higher than east of the Mississippi — would be reduced not by Chinese, at that time few in number, but by influx of workers from our own denser populated part of the country.

White immigration was thereafter augmented in California by the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads, completed in 1869, and in Oregon by large expenditure of money for railroads by Ben Holladay.[1] In that same year politicians in Oregon, as well as in California, were making campaign against "Chinese cheap labor," among them Grover,[2] then running first time for governor. Against their assertion that Chinese "add nothing to the wealth of the country," Mr. Scott showed that the aliens had cleared large land areas for crops and were building railroads for use of the white population. Their number on the Pacific Coast — less than forty thousand, and few in Oregon — was, as yet, no menace to the white race, and was contributing large capital, by its labor, to the uses of the country. "Every Chinaman leaves the products of his labor, a full equivalent for the wages paid him. He leaves more; he leaves the profit which his employer has made in the cheap labor he has furnished." [3]

Often Mr. Scott told the white people that the Pacific Coast was slow in industrial progress because there were not enough workers; that Chinese were not snatching places from white men, because they were doing work white men would not do; that the surfeit of white laborers in San Francisco, the center of agitation, did not exist elsewhere, and that most of the work to be performed was outside the cities; that the aliens had done much to make Oregon and Washington habitable for white men, especially in clearing land — a work too hard and cheap for white laborers; that they had been employed in this and other activities also because of scarcity and indolence of the whites.

In 1905, Chinese in the Orient boycotted American goods because

[1] See note, p. 103, this volume; Compiler's Appendix, vol. II, p. 263.

[2] LaFayette Grover, governor of Oregon 1870–77; United States senator 1877–83; born at Bethel, Maine, November 24, 1823; died at Portland May 10, 1911.

[3] *The Oregonian*, July 7, 1869.

of the exclusion law, and many exporters in the United States urged suspension of the exclusion law. The Chamber of Commerce of Portland recommended admission of a limited number of Chinese annually. This plan Mr. Scott opposed with citations from experience of twenty-five years before. Other matters were to be taken into account, he said, than exports and need of laborers.

(August 18, 1905.) We can never expect that our laboring classes will assume any position except of unconquerable antagonism toward the Chinese. The history of every community on the Pacific Coast for the past thirty years proves it.

(July 5, 1905.) No conflict is so cruel as that between antagonistic races. . . . No doubt Chinese laborers in this country would quicken industries now dormant for want of hands to stir them. But how about politics? How about the race conflict? Do you want it? *The Oregonian* has a memory and it does not.

(July 22, 1905.) The commotion would be so great that it may be doubted whether, on the whole, the progress of the country would not be checked, rather than accelerated, even in an industrial way.

(July 6, 1905.) The Chinese could do a lot of work here, of course — and work a lot of trouble. We want industrial development, but we want peace and must not have race war.

Inasmuch as Mr. Scott's opposition to Chinese expulsion has led some persons to suppose that he also resisted Chinese exclusion, it has seemed to the present writer appropriate to set forth Mr. Scott's attitude on this subject in some detail. The editor understood the problem as many others did not — its native antipathies, its basic race hatreds. Therefore, he was equipped to deal with the subject according to first principles and moral precepts. His course was humane, rational and consistent, and vindicated by subsequent events. It was a very difficult question to handle in the then heated condition of the public mind, especially in 1886, when expulsion was demanded. All are now ready to deprecate assaults upon Chinese, but denunciation of such acts twenty-five years ago excited bitterest animosities, with attacks of malignity and folly. The spirit of riot and outrage, of incendiarism, robbery and midnight assault, assailed the Chinese during a decade.

The other period of turbulence was that of Coxey armies in

March and April, 1894. Hard times and the worst stagnation in business the country ever knew, followed the collapse of 1893. Loud clamor went up from the unemployed for work. The noise was heightened by a large element of the thriftless, who, having saved nothing from good times, turned agitators and even vagabonds, and called upon government for the means of livelihood. They organized armies which set out for Washington, D.C., to lay their grievances before Congress and to demand aid. The movement was started by Jacob S. Coxey, of Massillon, Ohio, and was encouraged by the Populist political party and by many followers of fiat money. Chief of the Coxey demands were free silver coinage and immediate issue of $500,000,000 greenbacks, unsecured, wherewith to employ the army on road building — which, if done, would have plunged the Nation into the lowest depths of currency degradation and industrial chaos. The commonweal parties started from many directions and but few reached the national capital. Coxey himself was arrested there for breaking the rule, "Keep off the grass." The travelers had no means to pay for food, clothing or passage, and the mania made them hostile to work; therefore they first imposed themselves on charity, and then resorted to thievery and even to capture of railroad trains. Governor Pennoyer,[1] of Oregon, afforded them sympathy, thereby increasing the local tension. Oregon became a hotbed of Coxey propaganda, and United States officers were called upon to protect railroad traffic.[2]

If the reader has followed the outline of Mr. Scott's personal character and editorial style, as hitherto given, he can foresee, before reaching these lines, the war which the editor waged upon the Coxey movement. He told the armies that their resources were not in government but in their own labors; that they would have to take what employment they could get and at whatever wages, and that the Government did not owe them better nor any at all; that in Oregon and Washington was place for every efficient man on farm, in garden and orchard and dairy, in mine and forest, on

[1] For note on Sylvester Pennoyer, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. 1, p. 278.
[2] For note on the Coxey army, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. 1, p. 279.

terms that would enable him both to live and to convert the tattered prodigal and aimless vagrant into useful, prosperous and honored citizens; that it is the business of every person to strive to make place for himself instead of to complain, "No man hath hired us"; that the Coxey leaders were professional agitators and the followers deadbeats and prodigals. The armies were similar to the later Industrial Workers of the World, who have been defying law, order and industry, and laying their grievances to capitalism. Mr. Scott viewed the Coxeyites as belonging to the ultraradical forces of socialism. His disbelief in community help for the individual and his faith in personal industry and prudence fired his utterances with a fervor which angered the Oregon army. A mob of Coxeyites, in May, 1894, surrounded *The Oregonian* building for several hours, calling for vengeance. In answer to "We are starving in the midst of plenty. Why?" Mr. Scott had answered: [1]

> It is easy to tell why. For years there had been plenty of work and high wages. But these men did not make the most of their opportunities. Some of them did not use their opportunities at all. Those who did work worked but fitfully or irregularly and did not save their money. They "blew it in." They refused the maxims and the practice of prudence, sobriety and economy. They were careless, pleasure-seeking, improvident. And though they were getting the best wages ever paid, they were dissatisfied and wanted more. Through their unions they forced their demands for wages to a point beyond the power of employers to pay. Their political demagogues told them they ought to get still more, that they were cheated out of all the benefits of "protection," which were intended for them, but had been swallowed up by the bosses. So the change was voted. This produced increased caution and timidity on the part of employers, who feared to continue their business on the old scale, and, in fact, were unable to do so. Then, when employment could no longer be had, great numbers of these men, who had saved nothing, found themselves destitute, and forthwith began to accuse and denounce society and government for conditions resulting from their own imprudence. . . . It is not in the power of the national authorities to find remedies for the evils which men bring on themselves through want of forethought and steady industry, through dissipation of time, opportunity and money, through the common modern habit of pushing the demand for wages beyond what employers can possibly afford to pay, and compelling establishments to close or greatly reduce

[1] *The Oregonian*, April 21, 1894.

their force. . . . They who spend their money in one way or another as fast as they make it, who never postpone present gratification to the expectation and purpose of future advantage, who live in and for the passing day, with little thought of the morrow, and none at all of next year, or of the necessary provision for later life; who have been accustomed to work, when they worked at all, only at such employments and such hours and wages as they could select or dictate; whose lives in many instances have been as profligate as that of the prodigal son, but who have not yet reached the better resolve of repentance and amendment — all such are stranded, of course. These are fit recruits for the armies of vagrancy now pointed toward Washington by the demagogue folly which has long been proclaiming it to be the duty and within the power of Congress to help men, by legislation, who can be helped only by themselves.

As this quotation describes Mr. Scott's ideas of individual thrift, it has been included here at some length. While there might be an occasional exception to the general rule that a man's success or failure in life is what he himself makes it, Mr. Scott averred that the exceptions could not disprove the rule. With men as a class and with individuals who failed to build a foundation of personal prosperity, he had little or no sympathy. He did feel, however, and most deeply, for children in destitution. Their helplessness was always a source of sadness to him.

In June, 1894, a railroad strike halted Mr. Scott's return from an Eastern trip, at Tacoma, and he had to quit the Northern Pacific Railroad there, and make his way as best he could to Portland. This amused a number of Populist editors, and they directed gibes at Mr. Scott, which he answered with the following in *The Oregonian:* [1]

Several Populist papers are chuckling and cackling over the fact that some two weeks ago the editor of *The Oregonian*, then at Puget Sound on business, was stopped at Tacoma by the strike, and had to make his way as he could across the country to the Columbia River. Of course the poor milksops do not know how little such an incident disturbs a man who all his life has been accustomed to obstacles, and yet never to allow them to stand in his way. The editor of *The Oregonian* in pioneer times was accustomed to foot it between Puget Sound and the Columbia, and carry his grub and blankets on his back, and to think nothing of it. He and all others at that day went through, without complaint, conditions a thousandfold more laborious and difficult than those against which our Populists and anar-

[1] *The Oregonian*, July 24, 1894.

chists and "cultus"[1] people generally now protest as intolerable hardship and grinding slavery. Trifling as this particular incident is, it illustrates right well the difference between purposeful energy and poor, pitiful inefficiency. The one does things, the other whines and complains, says it can't, and wants somebody to help, or government to give it a lift.

In December of the same year, when soup kitchens were abundant, Mr. Scott had said in his paper: "It is their duty to put their wits and energies at work, to make employment for themselves, not to stand all the day idle, offering the excuse that no man has hired us." A critical editor replied that he would like to see what Mr. Scott would do, "out of money and out of work and without friends." To which Mr. Scott answered:[2]

He was in exactly that position in Portland over forty years ago. But he did n't stand round and whine, nor look for resources in political agitation or bogus money nor join Coxey's army. He struck out for the country, dug a farmer's potatoes, milked the cows and built fences for his food and slept in a shed; got a job of rail-splitting and took his pay in an order for a pair of cowhide boots; in these boots he trudged afoot to Puget Sound; hustled there for three years and raked together seventy dollars, with which he came back to Oregon afoot, to go to school, and managed, by close economy, to live six months, till, his last dollar having vanished, he bought an ax of Tom Charman, of Oregon City, on credit, made himself a camp on the hill above Oregon City and cut cordwood, till he got a little money to pay debts he owed for books and clothes. The next years were spent very much the same way — hard work and hard study, but nothing for beer and tobacco, and no time fooled away listening to political demagogues. All this is very commonplace, but it is recited to show that when the editor of this newspaper talks about hard times, self-help and what men can do, he knows what he is talking about.

None knew better than Mr. Scott the strong drift toward substitution of collective function for personal duty. He stemmed the drift as he could, yet not nearly so often as his conscience urged. He insisted that citizens should supply, as far as society could compel them, their own facilities and luxuries for selves and children, without leaning on government. Otherwise character would be impaired

[1] "Cultus," from the Chinook jargon, is a term of reproach or disgust. *Cultus wa-wa* means "idle talk." See note, p. 165, vol. 1; also Compiler's Appendix, vol. 1, pp. 290–91.

[2] *The Oregonian*, December 23, 1894.

and the many would be burdened on the thrifty few, with the former quota fast growing. Always he was urging his readers to employ energies of the self-reliant aforetime and apply themselves to creative labor, instead of to seek the created wealth of others. Pioneer conditions, he used to say, were a thousand times harder than the later conditions that were called oppressive and grinding by many a poor man. The contrast between the pioneer era of self-help and the new era of leaning on society, he portrayed as follows:

> Our fathers, who settled and subdued the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, pursued the rational and successful way. Each family pushed out for itself, without theories to hamper it. All worked with intelligence and industry, but no one leaned upon another. The theories of modern social science, so-called, fortunately for them and for the country, were unknown. Its jargon had not yet been evolved to mystify the mind, to darken counsel, to suggest falsely that men might look for resources where no resources are to be found. Our fathers knew that the secret lay in independent energy, in intelligent labor, in the rules of thrift, economy and virtue. They knew that the thing for each family to do was to make a selection of land and establish upon it an independent home. There were no writings of Herbert Spencer or Henry George to perplex them with vain notions of coöperative association or other transcendental nonsense. Enough for each of them to mind his own business, without bothering with coöperation, colony or commonwealth. On those principles of common sense our own state was settled.[1]

It is convenient to discuss the general attitude of Mr. Scott on large questions involved in individual responsibility under two main heads — moral and economic. Under the former are classed his articles on reform, liquor prohibition, temptation and the like; under the latter, his varied discussion nowadays presented by socialization projects. No subjects received more frequent treatment at his pen than these, and none other were challenged more hotly by champions of opposing ideas. They cover the whole period of his activity. They were widely read and applauded; also widely misunderstood and misrepresented.

Starting with the idea that each individual should be held accountable for his own evil conduct and should suffer its consequences, Mr. Scott declared this method the only one fit to fortify

[1] *The Oregonian*, March 1, 1884.

the resistant forces of personal character. Only moral strength would withstand temptation, and such strength is acquired from resistance. Temptation, therefore, was not to be taken away. "It is poor and impotent method of reforming the world," he remarked, "to try to put away means of evil from men, instead of teaching men to put evil away from themselves. Temptation exists in forms innumerable and will ever exist, so long as man is man; and our Maker himself appears to have seen no other way to develop a moral nature in man, but by setting temptation before him and bidding him, as he valued life, to triumph over it. . . . The text is, 'Deliver us from evil.' It is a mistaken method of moral work when the text is reversed and men think, by putting temptation out of the way, or by trying to remove from sight things that may be perverted, to make moral character." [1] Again: "If any philosopher — or if the philosopher is to be ruled out — if any charlatan or quack can discover a way by which temptation can be resisted or character can be formed except in the presence of temptation, he will be a world's wonder. The problem was beyond Omniscience and Omnipotence." [2]

Drunkards are to blame for their excess, not the person selling the liquor; nor the law which fails to suppress it. Drinkers create the saloon by their demand for it. The one way to eliminate the liquor traffic is to eliminate the demand. Intemperance is in the man, not in the whiskey. It is not the fallen woman who is responsible for the social evil, but the men who seek her. It is not the keeper of the game who is responsible for the evils of gambling, but the persons whose demand creates the game and supports it. It is not the "loan shark" who is responsible for usury, but the persons who seek to pay excessive interest. Those who stray from the strict moral code of sex are not to blame other influences than their own weakness. Parents whose children go wrong are to hold responsible nothing else than their own neglect or failure of training. Morally weak persons who fail to hold themselves erect should pay the penalty, either in punishment or elimination. "This poor fellow can't resist

[1] *The Oregonian*, September 30, 1887. [2] *Ibid.*, December 28, 1909.

the seductions of drink; that poor fellow can't resist the seductions of the painted woman; the other poor fellow can't resist the seductions of the gaming table. And all of these poor fellows are a cheap lot, none of them worth saving, and the world would be better without them." [1] All this was a grim rule of conduct, yet it accorded, he said, with the world's experience. It did not mean that society is to fail to protect its weak members against the aggressions of the strong. "But it cannot protect the weak against themselves without trenching on the rights of free action, through which the strong grow stronger and find a freedom that makes life worth living. . . . It remains as heretofore, and will be the law of the life of man to the last ages, that those who cannot stand the strain and pressure of moral requirements will perish." [2]

Legislation, he averred, has little effect on morals or character. Rum, brandy, whiskey, for example, always will exist. They belong to the domain of human knowledge. To try to suppress the knowledge, is absurd. "All that can be done rationally is to teach, or try to teach, the error of misuse of them. Restraint of sale is well. Still, however, there must be left some quantity of choice in the use of them — even in the abuse of them. This is absolute. It gives the reason why prohibition never can be enforced." [3] Indians of Oregon, before whites came to the country, knew nothing of alcoholic liquors. "But had they the virtue of 'temperance'? Not at all. Though they never got drunk, temperance was a virtue they did not know. . . . Those who think that, by prohibiting liquor, they can make men temperate, are as absurd as those who suppose that they can make men honest by never trusting them with anything they can steal. Moral strength is created only by allowing liberty of choice between right and wrong; by marking the difference between right use of a thing and actual abuse of it. All other miseries in the world are insignificant as compared with those that attend abuse of the sexual function. But does the genuine reformer endeavor to abolish the sexual relation? Rather does he not insist

[1] *The Oregonian*, October 7, 1887.
[2] *Ibid.*, May 24, 1904.
[3] *Ibid.*, May 2, 1909.

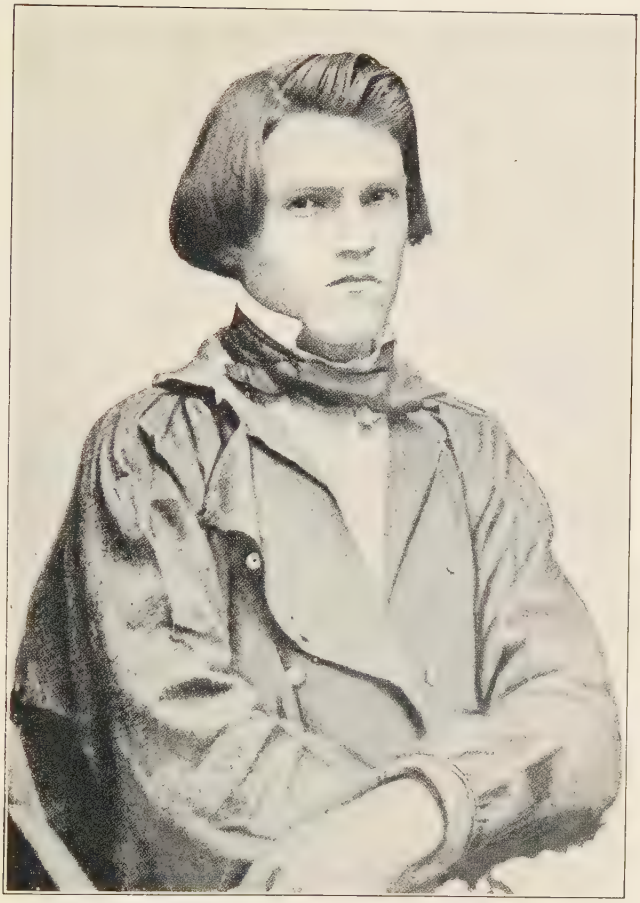
that one of the chief duties of life is to refrain from abuse of it?" [1]

Often the critics of Mr. Scott urged that since the law forbids theft and murder, makes these acts crimes and punishes them with severity, the law can also forbid liquor selling, make it a crime, and enforce penalties for its violation. Mr. Scott replied that murder and theft are crimes *per se*, and so regarded the world over; but liquor is sanctioned by public opinion, because men recognize a proper and sober use of liquor. Reform of vice, in the editor's view, rests with those who have the training of youth; with those who can exert personal and social influence to put vice under the ban. Virtue must have its growth from within; cannot be enforced from without. Training, if not in the home, is impossible. Mr. Scott deprecated the modern habit of shifting this duty to the state. "All the duties of society, all the duties of the state, as the authoritative expression of the means and measures necessary for the regulation of society, are of little importance in proportion to the duties of parenthood; for everything depends on the watchfulness of parents and on their right care and direction of the children for whom they are responsible." [2]

He always resented ecclesiastical control or discipline of private conduct, resisted the pratings of "pharisaic and charlatan proprietors of civic virtue" and of revivalist reformers, drew distinctions between innocent pleasures — as on Sunday — and theocratic condemnation of such pleasures as vices; decried the efforts of pinchbeck or Puritan moralists, rebuffed shrieky preachers who sought to force their sensational ideas on him or on the public. His was a middle course between the extremes of vice and the extremes of reform, a course which he deemed practicable and therefore sensible.

Most important of all parental teaching for youth is that of work and concentration, wrote the editor often. Industry is first among the influences of right living. Constant labor, applied to intelligent purpose, opens the way to good practices and closes the

[1] *The Oregonian*, September 2, 1889. [2] *Ibid.*, December 11, 1907.



August 29, 1857.

H. W. Scott.
Aug 29, 1903.

HARVEY W. SCOTT AT AGE OF NINETEEN YEARS

From tintype taken at Lafayette, Oregon, and his autograph

paths of evil; also it trains to self-denial and self-control. 'This self-denial, of which so many are impatient, is no new doctrine; it contains a universal principle that can never be suspended; the exercise of it is, always has been, always must be, a fundamental condition of success in human life." [1]

Mr. Scott was ever driving home the lesson that there is no considerable success without great labor, and they who decline labor have no right to expect the results that come only through labor. Young people are not to shun even drudgery, for it is the price of success and worth the price. "Voluntary hard labor has always had a hard name among those not willing to undergo it. '*Improbus*' it was called far back — an expression not translatable as applied to labor, in accord with the ideas of the modern world. It is common enough to say that success is not worth such extreme effort; which would be true enough, if only material objects were considered, but the full exercise of every man's powers is due to himself and due to the world, subordinate always to the rule of right. The one thing that needs iteration is that no success can rightfully be effected without payment of the price for it in labor and conduct." [2] Moreover, "the young man who is to get on in the world needs to work the most days and the most hours he can — not the fewest. There never will be reversal nor suspension of this rule. The few who observe it will get on, will get ahead. The many who neglect it will be servants while they live." [3] Men's duty seldom permits them to choose their occupations. If every man could have the work he delights in doing, much work would go undone. Labor is the only means to happiness; efforts to escape it end miserably; physical comfort does not always lead to virtue; there is no reward for idlers; economy is a very great revenue; government can do little to help its people or provide them work; no man need suffer poverty in the bountiful opportunities Oregon affords; self-help is the only means of escape from the wages system — such were frequent themes in Mr. Scott's editorial discussions.

[1] *The Oregonian*, April 7, 1899.
[2] *Ibid.*, April 7, 1899. [3] *Ibid.*, September 6, 1904.

No rules for getting on in the world are worth much, beyond the rules that inculcate the homely and steady virtues. "All else will be controlled largely by circumstance. A man of fair abilities, good judgment and powers of unceasing application, may become moderately successful in any line of effort to which he turns his attention. But sobriety, prudence, industry and judgment must attend him every day of his life."[1] "Attention to business, whether it be sweeping out and making fires in a little store or shop or helping to load coal on a freight engine, will land one at the top — but the three simple words at the beginning of the sentence cover a multitude of things that the average boy slights as not worth bothering himself about."[2] As for college education: "Everything is in the man; little in the school. If it is in the man it will work its way out — school or no school. Talent is irrepressible. It will find its way. If it has n't energy to find its way, it will accomplish little from all the boosting it may receive."[3] Thus the editor summarized his slight faith in easy education. Again: "Boys and girls! You 've got to work, and your school will help mighty little. The less help you have the stronger you'll be — if there 's anything in you. If there 's nothing in you, the game is n't worth the candle. But you must try."

Mr. Scott's own rule of life, his own self-examination and fortitude of character, are indicated in this analysis of what true worth is, as distinguished from wealth or station or intellectual capacity:[4]

> A man's greatness lies not in wealth or station, as the vulgar believe, nor yet in intellectual capacity, which often is associated with the meanest character, the most abject servility to those in high places and arrogance to the poor and lowly; but a man's true greatness lies in the consciousness of an honest purpose in life, founded on a just estimate of himself and everything else, on frequent self-examination — for Socrates has not been superseded on this topic nor ever will be — and on a steady obedience to the rule that he knows to be right, without troubling himself very much about what others may think or say, or whether they do or do not do that which he thinks and says and does. The prime principle in man's constitution is the

[1] *The Oregonian*, January 28, 1910.
[2] *Ibid.*, January 7, 1909.
[3] *Ibid.*, July 5, 1909.
[4] *Ibid.*, April 7, 1899.

social; but independent character is the rational check upon its tendency to deception, error and success.

Devotion to truth was a vital corollary to his moral theorem of industry. "The straight path," he often said, "is the old and only way":

> The only security one has, or can have, when he enters the world of activity and of strife and struggles with it, is in keeping faith with his ideals. Starvation, with virtue, after all, is not likely to happen. But shame, failure, vexation, disappointment, remorse and death are the proper consequences of life, without ideals of virtue and duty. There are resources in decency and virtue and right living, that are sure. To these resources, loose, vicious and idle lives never can pretend. If the straight way is not the primrose path, it certainly is the only safe one.[1]

The motives spurring the editor against oncoming hosts of paternalism already have been outlined. He thought the rising power of collectivism and communism, unless checked by later forces, ultimately would submerge the energetic, the thrifty members of society. Immediately it was bringing vastly extended functions of government, multiplying officeholders and free enjoyments for the masses that pay little or no part of the expense in taxes, and that control taxation through non-propertied suffrage. Socialism, he defined as the negation of all private property, since equality is the essence of all its doctrines; as "the growing disposition to substitute communism for individualism; an increasing desire to use the state as a vehicle for support of the thriftless, by levying upon the accumulation of the thrifty; an increasing antagonism to the man who, through patience, energy and self-denial, accumulates, and an increasing encouragement to the incompetent to rely upon society, as a whole, for sustenance and even entertainment."[2] Again: "It implies that industry, prudence, temperance and thrift should divide their earnings with indolence, stupidity, imprudence, intemperance and consequent poverty."[3] Once more: "It means that the state, or the community in general, is to be the collective owner of all the instruments of production and transport — by instru-

[1] *The Oregonian*, March 25, 1905.
[2] *Ibid.*, April 15, 1901.
[3] *Ibid.*, March 10, 1892.

ments meaning all things requisite, including land, to produce and to circulate commodities. That is to say, the state is to own all things which economists call capital — all the land, all factories, workshops, warehouses, machinery, plant, appliances, railways, rolling stock, ships, etc." [1]

This definition excited hostile criticism of varied degree from socialists, who would flood the editorial table with copious letters defining socialism, each for himself. "Every writer," replied Mr. Scott,[2] "has his own definition. Some go no farther than general opposition to private ownership of land and productive plants. Some go so far as the platform of the Social Democratic party in 1900, which demands public ownership not only of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, water works, gas and electric plants and public utilities generally, but also of all mines, oil and gas wells. Some advocate community ownership of all desirable things, including women." Mr. Scott admitted that the negation of the idea of private property may not be the intent of socialism, but averred that such would be the logical and inevitable result, because no property could be used as a private source of income, and because personal goods would soon wear out and could not be renewed, since the state would possess the means of production. Hence, there would be no way to acquire property beyond the barest means and needs of living, and no person could have more or better things than his neighbor. "It is astonishing that this scheme to narrow human life to one type, and that the poorest, should have any support at all. It would be useless for any one to make effort, for he would have nothing to gain for himself and nothing to leave to descendants." [3] Once, when a socialist writer called civilization a "monstrous disease," Mr. Scott retorted: "It may be supposed the writer never saw uncivilized conditions, such, for example, as those in which the tribes of Clatsop and Puget Sound lived, in the former day. That state of life seemed to be a real disease." [4]

[1] *The Oregonian*, July 9, 1895.
[2] *Ibid.*, April 15, 1901.
[3] *Ibid.*, November 22, 1904.
[4] *Ibid.*, December 17, 1907.

The arguments which Mr. Scott employed against socialism cover more than thirty years. He knew he could stop the then forward march of the idea not at all, nor retard it even slightly. It would have to run its course, he said. In concrete practice, Mr. Scott resisted the idea in its continuous enlargement of governmental function. He declared that public ownership of complicated utilities, such as lighting-plants, street car lines, would prove more costly than in private hands under government regulation; that extension of higher education, to make it free and easy, injured the recipients of its so-called benefits, absolved parents from their due obligations and youth from helpful striving; that free libraries, hospitals and many other free luxuries fostered official extravagance, bred officials and taxed the most energetic citizens for benefit of those of lesser merit; that, worst of all, it taught the habit of lying down on the government and making the state pay. "Government cannot compel the energetic few to do very much for the improvident many." [1] "If pushed very far, the result will be continual and rapid diminution of the energetic few and increase of the improvident many." Again: "The dream of social justice never will do anything for him who depends on it. He should quit that dream, take the first job he can get and stick to it till he can make it the stepping stone to another and better. Then he will find no theory of 'social justice' of any interest to him." [2] An earlier article remarked: "No man has ever yet risen to prosperity by croaking and grumbling and spending his time in trying to discover reasons for the supposition that society is organized to keep him down." [3] As for spread of governmental function: [4] "Nobody can look out for himself any more. He is no longer able to cut his beard without superintendence by the state, or to buy butter for his table, or to protect his fruit from winged or creeping pests, or his flocks from wild beasts. No one now thinks of doing anything for his own education; and the citizen puts up an incessant demand for enlarge-

[1] *The Oregonian*, June 7, 1909.
[2] *Ibid.*, June 20, 1904.
[3] *Ibid.*, November 18, 1889.
[4] *Ibid.*, February 1, 1901.

ment of the functions of the state in all conceivable ways, so he may 'get a job,' in which the duty is but nominal and the salary secure." The great source of trouble is too much ignorant and irresponsible voting of taxes and governmental extravagance by citizens who do not feel the burdens thereby imposed on property. For this reason — and this reason chiefly — Mr. Scott stood opposed to woman suffrage — which would double, or more than double, he said, this sort of voters. Government and property, he asserted, are too much harassed by such voters already.

Land socialism — single tax — Mr. Scott treated in ways similar to other doctrines of communism, as a scheme of its advocates to prey upon propertied neighbors through authority of government. His writings on this subject extended over twenty-four years. They contain the full argument against the theories of Henry George and his later followers. A characteristic excerpt of his criticism is the following:[1]

> Our Henry George apostles or disciples, the single-taxers, who call themselves the landless poor, will not rush off into any of the new districts, where land is offered practically free, and settle down and work in solitude and contentment, as others did aforetime, to establish themselves and their families. No, indeed! They wish to seize the fruits of the labor and privation and waiting and lifelong effort and industry of others — by throwing all taxes on land values and making the land, obtained by the pioneers, through their early efforts and lifelong constancy — valueless to them. Here, in the new aspect, are the modern Huns and Vandals. . . . These people don't wish to work, are unwilling to work, as others have done aforetime. They think it easier, and therefore preferable, to prey on society and rob others — covering their operations with assertions of justice and forms of law.

Evils of wealth, glaring as they were and intolerable, were not to be remedied, said Mr. Scott, by the socialistic régime. He considered the propaganda formidable chiefly as "part of the attack on vast evils that must be cured or abated."[2] Not forever would the people allow themselves to be plundered by trust combinations. "Such transactions, in themselves and in their

[1] *The Oregonian*, July 20, 1909. [2] *Ibid.*, November 12, 1906.

results, are all immoral. They are on a level with the transactions of the slave trade; and their fortunes have the same basis." [1] It is a lazy complacency which assumes that the masses of the people should submit to these exactions and yield to the "stream of tendency." Colossal combinations organized for such business are inconsistent with principles of social and individual freedom. "Our people will not believe that the long upward struggle of the civilized world for centuries, tending ever to greater freedom of the individual, larger sense of personal dignity and independence, is to be arrested now or to end now in the economic overlordship of a few, and the contented acceptance, by all the rest, of such favors in the form of charities or educational endowments as these few may see fit to bestow." [2] And the system of perpetuating great fortunes by inheritance make the evils worse. These estates should be broken up, he said, not be permitted to solidify into permanent institutions. The power of transmitting such estates is sure to be limited. And there should be abolition of protective tariff — greatest agency of special privilege; also close regulation of avenues of transport and carriage. Socialism or social democracy is unthinkable, as a remedy. It would be inconsistent with individual freedom and personal dignity; an economic impossibility; a despotism. Great wealth could be regulated under existing institutions and forms of law. The whole system of private property should not be destroyed in the effort to eradicate the parasite.

In 1904 the initiative and referendum became operative in Oregon and in 1905, the direct primary. The method of direct legislation and direct nomination became known as the "Oregon system." In successive elections the system was actively employed. Mr. Scott was its boldest critic. He was widely urged to turn the system to his own use to elect himself United States senator in 1906–08. These urgings were so numerous and came from such substantial sources that they convinced his friends he could make a successful contest for the office. But they could not move him to approve the system; it was destructive of party and of the representative and

[1] *The Oregonian*, April 7, 1905. [2] *Ibid.*, July 18, 1903.

cohesive forces of government. He would not pose as a seeker of any office, however high, against his convictions. He predicted that the system would break up the Republican party, then dominant in registration by large majority, and would elect Democrats to the chief offices. His predictions were amply verified, for Oregon in the following years had two Democratic senators at the national capital and a Democratic governor, whereas Republican registered voters outnumbered Democratic in Oregon by more than three to one. He asserted that the Oregon system was reversion to pure democracy, and destructive of representative government.

Mr. Scott directed his heaviest batteries against "statement one"[1] — a pledge required of candidates for the legislature, binding them to elect the people's choice, for United States senator, of the general election. The editor scored this pledge as disruptive of party, as an instrument of petty factionalism and false pretenses, as a trap to force Republican legislators to elect Democratic senators against their own political convictions, and against heavy Republican majorities on national issues. By this trap Mr. Chamberlain was elected senator in 1909, and Mr. Lane, in 1913, both Democrats. Statement one is now eliminated by amendment to the National Constitution for election of senators by popular vote — which Mr. Scott often urged, both as an escape from Oregon's troublesome method, and from the evil methods in other states. "The election should be placed by the Constitution directly in the hands of the people of each of the states, without intervention of the legislature thereof.[2] It is one of the absolute needs of our Government." Statement one certainly proved a destructive instrument to Republican unity and a boon to Democrats.

As for direct primaries, Mr. Scott conceded their benefits in eradicating the boss and the machine convention, but held up the evils — such as loss of leadership of strongest men; plurality rule of parties and their resultant disintegration; elimination of purposeful party effort; false registration of members of party;

[1] For note on statement one, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. 1, pp. 279–80.
[2] *The Oregonian*, January 27, 1908.

spites and revenges of factionalism; bold self-seeking of candidates for office. Mr. Scott's remedy was an adjustment between the old and the new systems — party conventions prior to primaries, the platform and candidates of the former to be submitted to the latter. This plan he was urging at the time of his death. It was rejected in the subsequent election by defeat of the convention candidates. It may be remarked, in passing, that even the original advocates of direct primaries in Oregon are not all favorable to continuance of the system. They admit the unsatisfactory results and now urge preference voting, whereby primaries would be abolished and nominations and elections consolidated.

Mr. Scott objected not so much to the referendum as to the initiative. Both, he pointed out, were designed for occasional or emergency use, but the initiative had opened the way to innovators, faddists and agitators, who took the opportunity to inflict their notions upon legislation at every election. The initiative, open, as in Oregon, to such small percentage of electors, was leading to visionary extremes and — what was most serious — to unequal taxation. It was a menace to political peace and security and could not be long tolerated by conservative elements of the people. It was supplanting representative government — the best known method of democratic cohesion and safest means of protection for property. It was superseding the old Oregon constitution — a wisely framed instrument. It was reverting to pure democracy, which history had proved inferior to republican form of government. "Representative government is the only barrier between anarchy and despotic monarchy. The whole people cannot take the time nor give themselves the trouble to examine every subject or every question. The Polish parliament consisted of seventy thousand knights on horseback. There was no sufficient concentration of authority. The consequence, needless to say, is that Poland as a nation long ago ceased to exist. It was the same in Ireland. There was no concentration, no centralization of authority, under representative government. There was too much 'primary law.' Ireland, therefore, is not a nation, except in aspiration, for-

ever unrealizable." Another excerpt: "The popular initiative, so-called, is not a proceeding of representative government. On the contrary, its distinct purpose is to substitute direct government, by democracy, for representative or republican government. One of its evils is that it affords no opportunity for discussion, amendment, or modification of its propositions before their final adoption." [1] Party, in the editor's view, is the most perfect method of carrying out the popular will. "No man, in a democracy, ever yet succeeded in any wide field of political endeavor except through the agency of party. . . . It is common with young persons to lay claim to nonpartisan independence. The notion seldom, perhaps never, holds them through life. Experience in the long run dissipates the view, and judgment prescribes a more effective course of action." [2] At this time it was a political fad of many to decry party and assert independence. The large revolt from the Republican party was made even more disastrous by the scattering influence of direct primaries. The Oregon system, the editor thought, might have protracted duration, but he felt certain that experience with it would convince the public of need of modification so as to preserve the representative system of lawmaking and of party organization.

"Though *The Oregonian* does not expect the initiative and referendum to be abandoned wholly, it does expect considerable modification of them in time, because such modification will become absolutely necessary to relieve the strain put on our system of government by this fantastical method." [3]

Ought citizens, he asked, who would defend the orderly progress of society, be thus compelled to stand guard to prevent ravishment of the Constitution and the laws by groups of hobbyists and utopists, who have nothing to do but sharpen their knives against society and its rational peace?

"Democracy, nowhere yet, has ever succeeded except through representative methods. In this way only can it bring its best men

[1] *The Oregonian*, June 5, 1908. [2] *Ibid.*, June 29, 1907.
[3] *Ibid.*, July 21, 1909.

forward. Democracy makes the greatest of its mistakes when it sets aside the representative principle. It deprives itself of its most potent method of action. It cuts off deliberation. It makes democracy merely a turbulent mob." [1] "Radical and revolutionary methods, reversing first principles of government and opposed to human experience through methods of innovation, are not methods of reform." [2] "The whole of this modern scheme of setting aside constitution and laws and of forcing legislation without debate or opportunity of amendment, turns out badly because it gives the cranks of the country an opportunity which they have not self-restraint to forego." [3] "To say this, is not to dispute nor to question the right of the people to self-government. But all cannot study all questions. Modern life depends on adjustment of the results of experience, or science, in innumerable departments, to new and growing needs. Here now is the opportunity, here is the need of representative government as never before. The people are to rule, but they should delegate their power to those whom they deem the most competent to do the things wanted. Only thus can they get results. Representatives betray the people less than many suppose. There is danger of such betrayal, undoubtedly, for the representative may not be much wiser than his constituency nor always honest. But the people ought to be able to protect themselves by exercise of care in the selection of their representatives." [4] "In all this there is no distrust of the people. On the contrary, it is simple insistence that the people have the right to the best service that their deliberation and their suffrage can command." [5]

Direct primaries, said the editor, negative the representative method in party and election, just as the initiative and referendum do in legislation. Though not so fundamentally dangerous, they make their evil seen in destruction of rational political effort and of deliberation; in spites and revenges of factionalism; in elimina-

[1] *The Oregonian*, October 24, 1909.
[2] *Ibid.*, July 6, 1909.
[3] *Ibid.*, February 18, 1908.
[4] *Ibid.*, May 16, 1909.
[5] *Ibid.*, September 10, 1909.

tion of men of character, independence, distinction, and ability; in election of men of ambitious mediocrity, who never could obtain consideration under any system that was representative. "Under restraints of the party system, there never could have been such profligacy in the legislature, such excesses in the appropriation bills, such creation of additional and useless offices and increase of salaries as are witnessed now." [1] The new system repudiates leadership, throws leadership to the winds. "It suppresses every man who occupies a place of influence in parties — especially in the majority party. The object is to get rid of all men of energy and talents, and it succeeds; to cast out and trample down every man who has superior powers of persuasion and combination." [2] "The attempt to make party nominations without some guide to representative party action, always will be a blunder." [3]

Mr. Scott fought the onward rush of the "system" with the old-time courage that had nerved him against many another movement. But this was a struggle which he knew he would not live to see won. His life span was too short. But with the vision of a prophet he looked forward to a time when, after the strife's fury and passion had spent, the foundation principle of republican government would again prove triumphant.

. . . . . .

As an aggressive leader of public opinion, Mr. Scott found himself forced into many local political contests in the course of his long life. He entered these struggles not at all with belligerent desires, but because he had to uphold principles and policies, many of them of national scope, against persons who were setting up local opposition. His attitude on home political issues was always conditioned by the Nation-wide interest, when he thought that interest involved. This method of his was often misconstrued and falsely represented. On the issue of sound money, for example, he attacked friend and foe without quarter, unceasingly and every-

[1] *The Oregonian*, February 20, 1909. [2] *Ibid.*, April 6, 1909.
[3] *Ibid.*, September 14, 1909.

where, in local and general elections, who advocated fiat money. And it is probable that many of his enemies took up the silver idea in personal antagonism to Mr. Scott.

. . . . . .

Early railroad projects in Oregon engendered political feuds of very bitter intensity. First of these was the fight between east side and west side companies of the Willamette Valley in 1869–70. Mr. Scott took no part in the political fight, urged both projects as needed by the public, but recognized the east side company (Ben Holladay's[1]) as equipped with funds to build, whereas, the west side company (Joseph Gaston's[2]) had little or no financial backing. In 1870 occurred the fight to determine whether the southern connections of Holladay's road should be via Rogue River, or via Eastern and Southern Oregon from Eugene. On account of the large interests of Rogue River, which otherwise would have no railroad connection, the line was routed that way through influence of Senator George H. Williams.[3] Mr. Scott supported the policy of Senator Williams. The Oregon legislature, by joint resolution in September, 1870, demanded the Rogue River route.[4]

A longer contest was that over the Northern Pacific land grant in Washington Territory, lasting a decade after 1877. The Northern Pacific had located its route to Puget Sound, and claimed, under act of Congress, its land grant thither, to be earned by construction of its line. Financial difficulties delayed construction.

[1] Ben Holladay opened the first period of railroad construction in Oregon in 1869. He was succeeded in 1876 by Henry Villard. Holladay came to Oregon in 1868; died at Portland July 8, 1887. Holladay's Addition, in Portland, was named for him. See vol. II, p. 263; vol. III, p. 172.

[2] Joseph Gaston came to Oregon in 1862, from Ohio, and actively promoted the west side railroad south from Portland, which was built by Ben Holladay and Henry Villard. He built the narrow gauge railroad between Dayton and Sheridan in 1877. He edited *Portland, Its History and Builders*, published in 1911, and *The Centennial History of Oregon*, published in 1912. He died July 20, 1913, aged seventy-nine years.

[3] George Henry Williams was United States senator from Oregon in 1865–71; see notes, pp. 35 and 46, vol. I; also Compiler's Appendix, vol. II, p. 275.

[4] *Session Laws* for 1870, pp. 179–80.

Meanwhile enemies of the road, supposed to be prompted by rival Union Pacific interests, were clamoring for completion of the Northern Pacific; otherwise, they demanded that its land grant be forfeited, and a substitute grant be allowed for a rival route connecting the Columbia River with the Union Pacific at Salt Lake. This competing effort was headed by Senator Mitchell [1] and W. W. Chapman.[2] But the Northern Pacific was too strong in Congress to be dislodged. Mr. Scott contended that the Northern Pacific should be afforded every advantage to complete its road (at one time the company agreed to build the Columbia River route); that the people of Oregon should not quarrel over two railroads when they had neither, but should help the one offering them the more practicable and the earlier connections; that the Northern Pacific was that one; that, moreover, its interests were those of the North, as Oregon's were; that while Oregon needed the Union Pacific, too, it should not play the uncertainty of that route against the certainty offered by the Northern line. Subsequent events sustained this view; the Northern Pacific was opened to Portland in 1883, and the rival Union Pacific the next year.

Taxation of credits was an issue in Oregon, during the decade 1883–93. During most of the period, the state was struggling with a law taxing mortgages. This law (enacted 1882; repealed 1893) attempted to tax land mortgages at the same rate as the land, in their proportions of value. It had disastrous effect on credit, made high rates of interest, withheld capital from the state, and imposed undue taxes on debt-free land owners. These evils were foretold by Mr. Scott before enactment of the law, and he finally saw public sentiment change to hostility toward such tax.

[1] John Hipple Mitchell was United States senator from Oregon in 1873–79, 1885–97 and 1901–05. He was born in Washington County, Pennsylvania, June 22, 1835, went to Oregon in 1860, and died at Portland December 8, 1905. He was convicted in the United States court at Portland July 4, 1905, in connection with land fraud prosecutions.

[2] William Williams Chapman, born at Clarksburg, Virginia, August 11, 1808; died at Portland October 18, 1892. He came to Oregon in 1847; to Portland in 1849, in which year he became one of the proprietors of Portland townsite and one of its most energetic citizens. See vol. II, p. 200; vol. V, pp. 197–99.

Of similar sort was the popular fallacy after the Civil War, of demanding taxation of Government bonds. Mr. Scott combated this idea frequently.

It fell to his lot, in the last five years of his life, to combat popular fallacies of high prices. Cost of living greatly increased, following high tide of prosperity in 1900–05. Among the causes ascribed was large gold production. But, in Mr. Scott's view, the chief cause was enlargement or excess of credit; with credit reformed, after the inflation period, prices would fall. A second influence making high prices, he said, was extravagance in government, following socialistic demands for wider governmental activities. A third was shortage of food production, due to overplus of population in cities. "Let those who complain about high prices of the necessaries of life get into the country and raise wheat and pigs and potatoes. Then they, too, will want high prices for everything that grows out of the soil." [1] A fourth was general organization of means of distribution yielding excessive profits. A fifth was the general extravagance of living, use of costly food and clothing and luxurious habits. "They say the times are changed, and we can get all these things and must have them. Very well, then; but don't complain about the increased cost of living." [2] The editor took such occasions to recall his readers to economical ways of life, telling them simplicity would reduce the high cost of living. "Population has outrun the proportional production of food. Food comes from the land, and men and women don't like to work on the farm." [3]

Mr. Scott wrote on the ethical side of many activities; nor did he neglect that side of his profession. And, in an exposition of his opinions, it may be in keeping to note his cardinal ideas on the work of an editor or newspaper publisher. He called himself editor, rather than journalist, for the latter name affected refinements that were alien to his character. His conception of an editor or publisher was one who was free from all alliances, political and

[1] *The Oregonian*, June 6, 1909. [2] *Ibid.*, December 20, 1909.
[3] *Ibid.*, December 2, 1909.

commercial, that might trammel his service to the public as a purveyor of intelligence. With such alliances, the publisher or editor could not command the public confidence, nor exercise the influence on public opinion that a newspaper must have to be a virile force in a community. Independence, he said, is required of a newspaper, by the public, probably more than any other business. In 1909, when Mr. Scott declined the Mexican ambassadorship, tendered by President Taft, he was asked his reasons by a newspaper reporter in an Eastern city. He replied:

> I did not wish to tangle my newspaper with politics. . . . I am convinced that the ownership or editorship of a newspaper is incompatible with political ambition. The people will not tolerate the idea of a man's pushing himself through his own paper, and they are right about that. The publisher who would produce a newspaper which has lasting character and influence must have an absolutely free hand. His independence must be maintained. He must stay out of associations that take from his newspaper interest. . . . The object and purpose of a newspaper is full and independent publicity, and a person interested in other lines of business, in railroads, banks, manufacturing or anything of an industrial character, would better stay out of the newspaper business. If a man is engaged in the industries I have named, and also owns a newspaper, he is constantly beset by his associates to keep out of print this or that article of news, or to shade news so it will not be unfavorable to the particular business in which friendly parties or associates are interested. They will ask that the matter which might be annoying or unfavorable, be suppressed, or that it be presented in a way that will not carry the whole truth. . . . The long and short of it is that the newspaper publisher must not have friends who have such a hold on him that his independence is endangered.

A newspaper that sells its support or favor to a candidate for an issue for money, Mr. Scott declared, corruptly bargains away its independence, lowers the tone of journalism, and injures the public service. A successful newspaper must be independent of political party, yet use a political party, on occasion, for carrying an important issue. As an auxiliary to schemes of capitalists, a newspaper becomes disreputable and never succeeds. "Money may be at command in abundance, but invariably it is found that money can't make such a newspaper 'go.'" [1] Again: "The true newspaper,

[1] *The Oregonian*, April 22, 1905.

that earns its support in a legitimate way, whose business is conducted for its own sake alone, that never hires itself out to anybody for any purpose, accepts no subsidies, gratuities or bribes, but holds fast at all times to the principles and practices of honorable journalism, can alone command confidence." [1] "A great journal is a universal news gatherer, a universal truth-teller. It cannot afford to have any aims which are inconsistent with its telling the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, let the truth wound or help whom it may." [2]

Guided by these ideas, it may be seen that Mr. Scott was devoted wholly to the newspaper business, and to none other even in small measure. This policy was the source of his influence. He was able to fight silver coinage in 1896 with success, because he and the newspaper of which he was editor were free; otherwise he could not have made the fight, for it diminished greatly the business of the newspaper and made heavy losses. "It is as an organ of intelligence, rather than of personal opinion, that it is of the greatest importance that the press should be free." [3] Mr. Scott realized fully that old style journalism was passing — opinion journalism, of Greeley's, Dana's, Watterson's — and that the neutral was taking its place; the kind that informs and entertains and lets the reader draw his own conclusions. The "fighting newspaper" was disappearing, he said. Mr. Scott made the confession although his was the fighting kind. "Journalism is a progressive science that must adapt itself to form and fashion and spirit, like everything else." [4]

Ideals should not blind an editor or a publisher to practical needs of journalism as a business; in fact, the ideal newspaper was not practicable nor attainable. "It would be high-priced; it would have, therefore, but few readers; it would not have money enough to get the news, pay its writers and do its work. Advertisements are the basis of all modern journalism, and the best newspapers are those which have greatest income from advertisements." [5] Therefore

[1] *The Oregonian*, December 27, 1897.
[2] *Ibid.*, March 15, 1879.
[3] *Ibid.*, September 20, 1883.
[4] *Ibid.*, January 13, 1908.
[5] *Ibid.*, October 24, 1906.

money-making must be the first object — yet legitimate money-making. Such revenue must come from advertisements and they should be of the right kind. A newspaper cannot be run for sentimental or theoretical purpose, yet cannot wholly ignore requirements of the public in that direction. A judicious newspaper man continually adjusts his course between the two necessities. And in matter of news, the editor is dependent on public desires; he cannot follow his own volitions in publishing daily events. A strong newspaper must cover all news, within decent limits, that varied classes of readers demand, even including prize fight "stories." That is to say, the press is controlled by public taste and can influence public taste only in small degree. "It is not wholly a missionary enterprise nor a pursuit of martyrdom. The editor cannot afford to make up a paper solely for his own reading or to be read in heaven, and he is subject to the influence of the common observation that the mass of readers have not the habit of thought or of mental application to read of those things that tax the powers of the mind, or that bring any real benefit."[1]

Newspaper work is, therefore, a business of complications and adjustments. The editor or publisher, who abides by his ideals as closely as possible, and yet conducts a strong newspaper, is very rare. The success of Mr. Scott was a measure of his greatness of mind and purpose. It was his fortune to have the coöperation of two able partners, Henry W. Corbett,[2] who during many years was a large shareholder in the business, and Henry L. Pittock,[3] who later acquired Mr. Corbett's share and became controlling owner.

This brings us to the conclusion of this article, but by no means to the end of the subject. For the topics that could be discussed

[1] *The Oregonian*, January 14, 1881.

[2] Henry Winslow Corbett, born Westboro, Massachusetts, February 18, 1827; died Portland March 31, 1903. United States senator, 1867–73; president Lewis and Clark Exposition, 1902–03. See vol. I, p. 280; vol. V, pp. 183–88.

[3] Henry Lewis Pittock was born in London March 1, 1836; came to Oregon in 1853 and became a type setter on the *Weekly Oregonian*, owned by Thomas J. Dryer. In 1860 he became proprietor of that newspaper and on February 4, 1861, published the first issue of the *Morning Oregonian*. He died at Portland January 28, 1919.

here, of the newspaper work of Mr. Scott, would expand to any length. He gave his writing all the energies of his life, and the output was extremely varied in its subject matter, large in its aggregate. Much of importance has been omitted from mention here, yet the foregoing outline follows the main currents of his editorial activity. It was Mr. Scott's lifelong desire — and the wish was one of pioneer sentiment — to serve the people of the Pacific Northwest always with the best thought that was his to give, and to have a place, after he was gone, in the memory of his readers.

TRIBUTES TO MR. SCOTT'S ACHIEVEMENTS IN JOURNALISM

NEWSPAPER editors, throughout the United States, after Mr. Scott's death published tributes to his career in journalism. These appreciations show the universal admiration with which fellow members of the craft regarded him. So numerous were these expressions that their reprint would require a publication of large dimensions. A few of them are subjoined to show the widespread sentiment as to the Oregon editor:

New York *Tribune:* Mr. Scott was an editor who put his personality into the journal which he directed and made it a force to be reckoned with in Oregon life. He was a builder and a counselor whose services will be greatly missed.

American Review of Reviews: In the death of Harvey W. Scott, American journalism lost one of its ablest and most virile leaders.

Brooklyn *Eagle:* The journalism of the Pacific Coast has had no superior and probably no equal to him. The journalism of the United States has had few who were more successful and none who were more respected.

New York *Editor and Publisher:* He left a splendid legacy of ideals to the possession of journalism. He made the Portland *Oregonian* one of the great newspapers of the Nation.

Indianapolis *Star:* The newspaper profession never had a finer, braver, truer toiler in its ranks. To its duties he brought full knowledge of the lore of antiquity, profound mastery of history, intimate acquaintance with the best literature of all ages and a style whose simplicity, sublimity and cogency are matched only in the highest models.

Baltimore *News:* He was one of the big men of the West. The esteem in which he was held, the character of the paper he built up, amply testify to the fact that he fully measured up to the occasion.

Chicago *Record-Herald:* A real and vigorous personality has disappeared from the stage of independent, courageous journalism and national thought.

Indianapolis *News:* Mr. Scott made his city known by reason of the force, intelligence and political sense which he put into his paper.

Minneapolis *Tribune:* To the Oregon Country Mr. Scott consecrated his life. All the states and cities he saw grow up in it owe a debt to his labors and his ideals. He built up a giant newspaper to be its servant in all honest service.

Providence *Journal:* Harvey W. Scott was one of America's great editors and one of its leading citizens. By sheer force of his personality and his powerful pen he made himself the leading figure of the Pacific Coast.

Rochester (N.Y.) *Democrat-Chronicle:* His force of character, independ-

ence of opinion and courage as the director of a great journal, made him a power in the public affairs of the country.

Boston *Transcript:* The death of Harvey W. Scott removes one of the vigorous personalities of Pacific Coast journalism.

Hartford *Courant:* Harvey W. Scott was one of the strong men of the Pacific slope. His paper was built up by him to be a mighty power, and the reason for its influence was the belief the readers had in the sincerity and wisdom of its managing spirit.

Detroit *News:* To the newspaper readers of Oregon, Washington and Northern California, Mr. Scott was what Greeley and Dana were to Easterners a generation ago.

Omaha *Bee:* He was a virile, vigorous, dominant personality. In the national councils of newspaperdom he stood high, and he leaves a clean, enduring monument in his personal example as well as public service.

St. Paul *Pioneer-Press:* He left his personal impress upon every feature of his paper long after the complex system of modern newspaper work had made it impossible for any one man to supervise personally all the details of the daily work.

Springfield (Mass.) *Union:* His paper has been representative of the highest ideals of the Pacific Coast land — clean, able and independent.

Minneapolis *Journal:* His battle against free silver in 1896 was typical. It was the greatest tribute ever paid to the educational power of a free newspaper.

Peoria (Ill.) *Transcript:* He made his newspaper the most powerful on the Pacific Coast.

Peoria (Ill.) *Journal:* He fully deserves the honors that Oregon will give him.

Atlanta *Constitution:* His death removes one of the greatest American journalists, belonging to the school of Greeley, Raymond and the elder Bennett.

Buffalo *Express:* Perhaps his most notable achievement of politics was the holding of Oregon to the gold standard when all the remainder of the West was crazy for free silver.

Philadelphia *Ledger:* The death of the venerable Harvey W. Scott removes one of the most picturesque, and by all odds the most forceful figure in Pacific Coast journalism.

Boston *Herald:* The ablest, most independent and most widely quoted of Pacific Coast journals, for many years, has been the Portland *Oregonian.* The man, Harvey W. Scott, who has been responsible for this supremacy, has just died.

Pacific Christian Advocate (Methodist): Oregon has lost its most noted and influential citizen. His influence must continue to be one of the most potent forces ever exercised on this coast.

Portland *Journal:* In intellect, journalism has known few men of equal mold.

Portland *Catholic Sentinel:* The Northwest loses one of its most commanding figures. Mr. Scott was one of the last survivors of the old guard that worked and protested against the commercializing process in the daily press.

Melville E. Stone, General Manager Associated Press: The most efficient American editor of the last quarter of a century.

Tacoma *Tribune:* He enforced respect for his paper and its policies by the sincere and dignified manner in which his enunciations were put forth.

Tacoma *Ledger:* No other man has exerted an influence equal to that of Harvey W. Scott in upbuilding of the Pacific Northwest. His many years of service as editor of a great newspaper have left a lasting impression on our institutions.

Bellingham *American:* Mr. Scott was a great man in all the senses of greatness.

Tacoma *Herald:* Few men have swayed the public mind over as large an area as did Harvey Scott, and none has maintained a dominance through so long a period by the exercise of purely intellectual force.

Tacoma *News:* For some thirty years he was the unquestioned oracle of a domain that embraced all of Oregon with numerous outposts extending as far north as British Columbia, deep into California, and into the Rocky Mountain region.

Portland *Spectator:* Oregon has lost its greatest citizen.

Pasadena *Star:* The Pacific Coast has lost its most conspicuous journalistic figure. He gave his paper a national reputation.

Sacramento *Bee:* He was one of the most remarkable men of the Pacific Coast. His newspaper became known all over the Union as a leading journal.

Spokane *Herald:* The Northwest has lost one of the most powerful editors whom American journalism has known.

Spokane *Chronicle:* He earned a place among the most honored and most useful pioneers of the great Northwest.

Spokane *Spokesman-Review:* He was a mighty pioneer in molding the thought, the institutions, the career of the Pacific Northwest in its plastic time.

Seattle *Times:* Mr. Scott was one of the greatest editors America has ever produced.

Seattle *Post-Intelligencer:* The country has lost the last of its great personal editors.

Seattle *Patriarch:* His spirit will remain with us as a beacon light, solacing the old with fond memories and stimulating the youth by the inspiration of his worthy example.

Seattle *Coast:* A forceful, honest, fearless pen he wielded. Beloved by friends and feared by foes, he lived. Honored and respected by all, he died.

Seattle *Register:* The immense influence of his newspaper over a large section of the country was due to Mr. Scott's wonderful command of language and the forceful and incisive logic of his editorials.

Boise *Statesman:* He was one of those rugged natures that are typical of the West. He was a soldier in the army of the common good and was always found in the smoke and grime of battle.

Butte *News:* If the history of American journalism is ever written, Harvey Scott will form the subject of a most interesting chapter.

Los Angeles *Times:* When Harvey W. Scott passed away one of the great lights of journalism went out. He was a great editor in every sense of the word.

San Francisco *Argonaut:* Mr. Scott won and held leadership in the intellectual and moral life of Oregon by a fortified wisdom and by an unshrinking courage. His was the journalism of social responsibility, and of the spirit of statecraft.

Idaho Falls *Register:* He rose to the top as one of the ablest and foremost journalists of the world.

Salt Lake *Republican:* No other editorial writer in the West, and few, indeed, in the whole country, have been read so closely as Harvey Scott.

Salt Lake *News:* American journalism has lost one of its most brilliant lights. *The Oregonian* is a monument to his character.

Salt Lake *Telegram:* His voice has been the most potent ever raised within her (Oregon's) borders. He has done more to shape the character of the state than any other man.

Salt Lake *Tribune:* Mr. Scott made himself a power on the West coast. The whole country will feel poorer because he is dead.

EVENTS IN LIFE OF HARVEY W. SCOTT

Born, February 1, 1838, near Peoria, Illinois.
Left Illinois, April 1, 1852, for Oregon.
Arrived at Oregon City, October 2, 1852.
Went to Puget Sound, spring of 1854.
Served in Indian wars at Puget Sound, 1855–56.
Returned to Oregon City, September, 1856.
Attended Pacific University, December, 1856 to April, 1857.
Attended academy, Oregon City, winter of 1858–59.
Returned to Pacific University, fall of 1859.
Graduated at Pacific University, 1863.
Librarian Portland Library, 1864–65.
Admitted to Oregon Bar, September 7, 1865.
Married Elizabeth A. Nicklin, Salem, October 31, 1865.
Editor *Oregonian*, April 17, 1865, to September 11, 1872; April 1, 1877, to August 7, 1910.
Collector of customs, October 1, 1870, to May 31, 1876.
Married Margaret McChesney, Latrobe, Pennsylvania, June 28, 1876.
President Oregon Historical Society, 1898–1901.
President Lewis and Clark Exposition, 1903–04.
Director Associated Press, 1900–10.
Died, August 7, 1910, at Baltimore, Maryland.

PART I

DISCOVERY — EXPLORATION — ACQUISITION

CHAPTER I

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE OREGON COUNTRY

The Character of Oregon a Resultant of Pioneer Life[1]

Oregon, from the circumstances of its settlement and its long isolation, and through natural interaction of the materials slowly brought together, has a character peculiarly its own. In some respects that character is admirable; in others it is open to criticism. Our situation has made for us a little world in which strong traits of character peculiarly our own have been developed; it has also left us somewhat — indeed, too much — out of touch with the world at large. We do not adjust ourselves readily to the conditions that surround us in the world of opinion and action — forces now pressing in upon us, steadily, from all sides.

The life of a community is the aggregate life of the individuals who are its units, and the general law that holds for the individual holds for the society. Only as the conduct of the man as an individual and of the man in society is brought into harmony with surrounding forces, under the government of moral law, can any community make progress; and of this progress experience becomes the test. In our day the multiplying agencies of civilization, operating with an activity constantly cumulative and never before equaled, are turned, under the pressure of moral forces, into most powerful instruments for the instruction and benefit of mankind. It is probable that nothing else has contributed so much to the help of mankind in the mass, either in material or moral aspects, as rapid increase of human intercourse throughout the world. Action and reaction of peoples on peoples, of races upon races, are continually evolving the activities and producing changes in the thought and character of all.

[1] From an address delivered by Mr. Scott at Astoria, Oregon, April 18, 1901, before the Clatsop County Teachers' Institute.

This influence develops the moral races as rapidly as the intellectual and material; it has brought all parts of the world into daily contact with each other, and each part feels the influence of all the rest. Common agents in this work are commerce in merchandise and commerce in ideas. Neither could make much progress without the other. Populations once were stagnant. Now they are stirred profoundly by all the powers of social agitation, by travel, by rapid movements of commerce, by daily transmission of news of the important events to every part of the world. Motion is freedom; it is science, it is wealth, it is moral advancement. Isolated life is rapidly disappearing; speech and writing, the treasures of the world's literature, diffused throughout the world, enlarge and expand the general mind, and show how much is contained within humanity of which men once never dreamed. All these movements have had large progressive effects on the Old Oregon Country — the Pacific Northwest.

The true life of a people is both a history and a poem: The history is a record of the material development resulting from their industrial energy; the poem represents the growth of character, the evolution of the moral, intellectual and spiritual forces that make up their inner life. These two phases must unfold together if there is to be any real progress. There is an antagonism between them, yet each is necessary to the other. Without cultivation of the material and mechanical, which acts upon matter and produces wealth, man is a mere idler and dreamer, at his best little better than the Arabian nomad. Without cultivation of the moral sentiments, or attention to the calls of his inner and higher nature, he loses himself in gross materialism, and no answer is found in him to appeal to ideas, to heroism or to exalted virtue.

Phases of the life of a people pass away, never to return. In the first settlement of a country the conditions of nature produce our customs, guide our industries, fix our ways of life. Later, modifications take place, fashioned on changing conditions. This process, long delayed through our isolation, is now going on rapidly before our eyes.

In *The Rambler*, Dr. Johnson says that whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominates over the present, and advances us in the dignity of human beings.

The study of our own history is chiefly valuable for its moral significance and influence. It fixes our attention upon the organization and structure of our society, and carries the influence of other times on into our own. It stirs up to activity the forces and agencies that build up character, that indicate duty, that prompt to action. These are the forces we need. Busied only with our own times and the conditions they present, we fall into levity; we forget what we owe to our predecessors, and, therefore, do not know what we possess, nor realize its value. Only can we know what we have or where we are by study of the course through which our present position has been attained. To live merely in the present, without regard to the past, is to be careless of the future. If a people do not know their own history, it is the same as if they had no history. For, as Bacon says, the truth of knowing and the truth of being is all one — "A man is but what he knoweth." It is not enough that this historical knowledge be possessed by the few. "The remnant" should not be the only custodians of such a heritage. We may hope that study of our Pacific Northwest history will now and henceforth receive the wide attention it deserves. The inspiration of the past is the greatest of motives for a progressive people.

We calculate the value of industrial energy by what it produces — worldly possessions; we appreciate the growth of the inner life by what it inspires — moral character and noble sentiments. In the best civilization the two are united. Man is a composite being, and the hands and the soul of humanity must work together. Just now we are having in Oregon a material development such as we never hitherto have known. It is well. We all rejoice at it, and we all try to promote it; and yet we should not become so fully occupied with it as to overlook the greater importance of the other side of life — that is, right development of thought, feeling, character.

Under operation of forces that press upon us from contact with the world at large, and under the law of our own internal development, we are moving rapidly away from old conditions. Pioneer life is now but a memory; it will soon be but a legend or tradition. Modern society has no fixity. Nothing abides in present forms. See how complete has been the transformation of New England within twenty-five years. A similar process is now in rapid movement among ourselves in the Pacific Northwest. Once we had here a little world of our own. We shall have it no more. The horizon that once was bounded by our own board enlarges to the horizon of man.

The story of the toilsome march of the wagon trains over the plains will be received by future generations almost as a legend on the borderland of myth, rather than of veritable history. It will be accepted, indeed, but scarcely understood. Even now, to those who made the journey, the realities of it seem half fabulous. It no longer seems to have been a rational undertaking.[1] The rapid transit of the present time appears almost to relegate the story to the land of fable. No longer can we understand the motives that urged our pioneers toward the indefinite horizon that seemed to verge on the unknown. Mystery was in the movement; mystery surrounded it. It was the last effort of that profound impulse which, from a time far preceding the dawn of history, has pushed the race to which we belong to discovery and occupation of Western lands.

The Oregon Country Described[2]

The Columbia River, which forms the boundary between the states of Oregon and Washington, supplies the only open way through the great mountain ranges of the West. A great river is the soul of the land through which it flows. From the place where it leaps from its sources, in the gorges of the Rocky Mountains, the Columbia River flows on, gathering affluents, cutting mountain

[1] See Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 280.

[2] From an address by Mr. Scott at Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, New York, September 25, 1901, "Oregon Day."

George H. Williams and Harvey W. Scott at Lewis and Clark Exposition Grounds in 1904

barriers, traversing plains, presenting long reaches for navigation, and at all points opening passages for railways on water levels, deepening and broadening as it descends till it passes the last chain of mountains, on past the city of Portland, and one hundred miles farther past the city of Astoria, bright, brimming, and large, till its waters are lost in the Great Pacific Sea.

Shall I surprise when I say that the mean volume of the Columbia is greater — much greater — than the mean volume of Niagara? Its mean volume is perhaps greater than that of the Mississippi below the Ohio; for there are times when the flood of the Columbia reaches the prodigious volume of 1,600,000 cubic feet per second, which the Mississippi never equals. Nor perhaps does the volume of the Saint Lawrence ever equal the high-water stage of the Columbia, though the mean flow of the Saint Lawrence is greater.

It is a great country that is drained by a river of this magnitude. Approximately, though the distance varies at different points, it is one thousand miles from the sea to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, and the Columbia River is fed by the waters gathered along the western slope of the mountain range for a distance, from north to south, of one thousand miles.

Within this great region there is every variety of country and all possible variety of resources that belong to the most productive latitudes of the globe. Of minerals there is nearly every variety. Oregon from the first has been a gold-producing state.[1] It is no exaggeration to say that the Columbia River region, shared by Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana, has greater possibilities of wheat production than any other portion of America. But a small part of the country is cultivated, yet this year's product of wheat will reach 45,000,000 bushels.[2] Hops are a fine crop, and their cultivation may be pushed to any extent.[3] Oregon is one of the leading states for sheep and wool, and the natural range for

[1] Gold production began with placer discoveries in 1850.

[2] That was the crop in 1901; 60,000,000 bushels in 1914; 70,000,000 bushels in 1915; 94,000,000 bushels in 1919.

[3] Production of hops in Oregon in 1919 was 35,000 bales; in 1906, 160,000 bales.

horses and cattle, of vast extent, yields steady and profitable returns.[1] It is a great dairy country, too, and its orchards yield incomparable fruits.[2] The product of its salmon fisheries has been known the world over these twenty years.[3] Carriage of its products to market is by both land and sea. Shipments of wheat, flour and lumber are made to Europe and to the Orient in vessels loaded at Portland.[4] Wool, hops, fish, much lumber and many other products, including live stock,[5] are carried by rail to markets eastward. Of standing timber, Oregon and Washington have by far the largest quantity of any states of the Union.

At a distance of one hundred and fifty miles from the ocean, the states of Oregon and Washington are traversed by a range of mountains from north to south. It is a continuation of the Sierras of California, and it extends through British Columbia into Alaska, and to the frozen ocean.[6] The general elevation of this range in the state of Oregon is 4000 to 4500 feet. Lofty peaks shoot up here and there throughout its entire length, rising to heights of 10,000 to 14,500 feet. Five of these are clearly visible from the city of Portland. The nearest, Mount Hood, 11,225 feet high, is fifty-five miles distant. All are covered with perpetual snow, from the melting of whose numerous glaciers are generated sources of many large and steady streams. This great range of mountains, except its snow peaks, is covered with heavy masses of timber, chiefly of the pine family.[7] Almost no inroad has yet been made by the lumberman upon this vast body of timber. Snow falls to extraordinary depth

[1] Wool production in Oregon in 1919 was 13,500,000 pounds. There are eight woolen mills.

[2] The value of dairy products in Oregon in 1919 was $25,000,000; of fruits, $18,000,000.

[3] The value of the salmon pack in Oregon in 1919 was $6,000,000.

[4] Lumber exports from Oregon in 1919 were 350,000,000 board feet. The cut of lumber was 3,500,000,000 feet. The forests of Oregon contain 450,000,000,000 feet of merchantable timber — more than that of any other state. The standing timber of Washington amounts to 370,000,000,000 feet.

[5] Live stock sales in Oregon in 1919 amounted to $45,000,000.

[6] The Cascade range.

[7] Besides Douglas fir, hemlock, spruce and cedar, the forests of Oregon and Washington contain much oak, ash, maple and alder.

at all places in this mountain range, but, except on the lofty peaks, it disappears every summer.

Nearer the coast line there is another mountain range of much less elevation, whose longer axis is extended from the north to south. We call it the Coast range. Its general elevation is perhaps two thousand feet, but there are a few points that rise to greater heights. It has, however, no towering peaks like those in the Cascade range, just described. This range is also covered with great timber, mostly of the cone-bearing family, individual members of which attain prodigious height.

Between these mountain chains lies the valley of the Willamette River, sixty or seventy miles in breadth, by two hundred in length, a spot unsurpassed in agricultural possibilities by any equal area on the globe. This river, a long stream, navigable by steamboats for one hundred and forty miles, flows north and enters the Columbia just below Portland. South of the valley of the Willamette, two streams, Umpqua and Rogue rivers, wholly within Oregon, flow from the Cascade range of mountains through fine valleys, westward to the Pacific.

The coast counties, from the Strait of Juan de Fuca to the California line, a distance of more than five hundred miles, contain a vast extent of fertile and wooded country, with exceptional mildness and equability of climate. There is seldom freezing weather. Roses bloom in the open air through nearly the whole winter season.

In Eastern Oregon and Washington, there are different climatic conditions. The great mountain range cuts off from the country the immediate influence of the ocean; the air is drier, there is less rainfall, but there is rain enough for pasturage. In many sections it is a great wheat country, and it carries herds of cattle and sheep, numerous and large.

Toward the eastern boundary of Oregon, we meet another mountain range covered with timber. These are the Blue Mountains, the highest points of which have an elevation of five thousand feet, though the range in general is lower. The glades of these mountains furnish summer pasturages; the timber is abundant and valu-

able, though the trees are not so large as those of Western Oregon. The lands along the skirts of this mountain range, for hundreds of miles in Oregon and Washington, are the most productive wheat lands of the United States — perhaps of the world.

The winters are somewhat colder in Eastern than in Western Oregon and Washington, and they are drier. But, except at elevated points, the cold is never severe. The climate is peculiar to itself. There are no extremes of heat and cold. In the western part we have the rainy season and the dry season, and though the rainy season is sometimes thought tedious, yet the annual rainfall is less than that of many other parts of the United States. The summers are incomparable. No one accustomed to them will spend his summers elsewhere. But I need not proceed with this description. Upon what physical facts our peculiar climate depends, I will now briefly explain:

First: The presence of the ocean and the influence of its currents.

Second: The prevailing direction of the winds from the southwest in winter and from the northwest in summer.

Third: The situation and trend of our mountain ranges, which intercept the winds from the ocean and direct their course. These winds are not violent, but come with gentle breath over the wide surface of the sea. The moisture carried by the winter winds is mostly exhausted on the western slopes of the mountains.

In the state of Washington, whose topographical conditions are very like those of Oregon, the climatic conditions are essentially the same.

Of commercial conditions, and especially of our position in relation to Oriental commerce, I would now say a word. On the direct line westward from the upper valley of the Mississippi, say from the states of Illinois, Iowa and Missouri, to the Columbia River, or to its southern tributaries, the general elevation of the Rocky Mountain range is less than it is further south or north. The consequence is that the central passage of mountains is the best natural route for transcontinental railways. In the first place, it is easy to pass over the divide to the Columbia or to its main southern

branch; and, after that is reached, all the intermediate mountain chains that obstruct other routes are avoided; for the river makes its way through them all, and it is only necessary to follow its course. Next, it pierces the great mountain barriers of the farther west by a channel which it has worn down to the tidewater level. Here is the only easy railway route across the continent. It should make the Columbia River a chief gateway, both of transcontinental and Oriental trade. Our acquisition of the Philippine Islands gives us a firm footing in the Orient.

Oregon was admitted as a state in 1859.[1] But so remote was it, such was its isolation, that its progress for the next twenty-five years was extremely slow. Railroads have now cut off the distance.[2] No less than four transcontinental lines now enter the state. Development now is fairly beginning. Industries are multiplying rapidly. Great attention has always been paid to improvement of school system. The Pacific Northwest is a land of steady habits and of steady morals. It is a land of unsurpassed fertility, of incomparable scenery, of limpid waters, and of translucent air. From the heights of Portland, but one-half mile from the business center of the city, one may see mountain peaks two hundred and fifty miles distant. The streams abound with fish, and the forests with game. Man may live there as near to nature as he may desire, and yet he may have there and enjoy there everything possessed by the highest civilization.

In the civic standing of Oregon its people have a modest pride. The state has no debt. It has met thus far, and stands ready to meet now and hereafter, every obligation of a patriotic member of the American Union. It is the original of our possessions on the Pacific side of the continent. California was acquired a half-century later. Oregon, moreover, is the mother state of the Pacific. Wash-

[1] The original Oregon Country, as defined by the treaty with Britain in 1846, contained the present states of Oregon, Washington and Idaho, and parts of Montana and Wyoming.

[2] The first direct railroad connections with the East were opened August 22, 1883, via the Northern Pacific, to Portland; the Union Pacific was opened November 11, 1884; the Southern Pacific, December 17, 1887. See note, p. 191.

ington and Idaho are wholly its children, and it gave up much to Montana and Wyoming. Yet, though Oregon has given up so much, it remains larger than the states of Illinois and Indiana together. The acquisition of the Oregon Country, through discovery, exploration and the migration of American pioneers, was one of the chief acts in the history of great national expansion, for it carried the United States across the continent and placed us on the Pacific; and now we see that it was the first step of the newer expansion which to-day faces us toward the Orient.

The Oregon Country a National Prize[1]

The Spaniards had sailed the Pacific Coast of North America nearly three hundred years, but extended their actual knowledge no further north than the bay of San Francisco, and even from the Pacific ports of Mexico to San Francisco that knowledge was very limited. They had never entered the Columbia River (or River of Oregon); never penetrated the great estuary now known as Puget Sound and now the greatest of the inland seas and natural harbors of the United States, until after British and American navigators discovered those waters in 1787–88.

However, it is a well-attested fact that a Spanish navigator, Heceta, in August, 1775, was off the mouth of the great River of the West, noted its position and observed the vast flow of fresh water;[2] and, within the next decade, the place was distinguished on Spanish charts as the mouth of the river San Roque. The place thus designated was examined by John Meares,[3] an English

[1] Address delivered by Mr. Scott January 14, 1904, before the Senate committee on expositions, at Washington, D.C., in behalf of Federal aid for the Lewis and Clark Exposition, which was held at Portland in the summer of 1905. See Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 281.

[2] The date was August 17, 1775. See Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 286.

[3] John Meares (1756?–1809) made voyages to the Northwest coast, from China, in 1786–87 and in 1788. Two of his ships were seized at Nootka Sound by the Spanish in 1789, which almost brought on war with Britain, and which caused Meares to bring out his narrative in 1790, *Voyages made in the Years 1788 and 1789 from China to the Northwest Coast of America.* See Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 281.

navigator, in July, 1788; who, however, reported that no river existed there.

A little later another and more noted English navigator, George Vancouver,[1] sailing up the coast, subscribed without qualification to this opinion. The actual discovery of the river was made May 11, 1792, by Captain Robert Gray,[2] of Boston. He entered the river in his ship, *Columbia,* and ascended about twenty-five miles. He did not remain long; yet the discovery, under the usage of nations, gave foundation of title to the United States of the whole region drained by the great river.

The importance to the United States of a footing upon the Pacific was seen even at this early day; but it was appreciated by only a few of our statesmen. To Thomas Jefferson, our chief expansionist, the honor is due of quick and early apprehension of the importance of Gray's discovery. At once confirmation of our title to the Oregon Country was associated in his mind with the acquisition of Louisiana, in 1803. Each was a necessary part of the scheme of national expansion. Even before the acquisition of Louisiana, Jefferson had planned an expedition across the continent and over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. The expedition was not organized, however, until the purchase of Louisiana from France was completed; for, in fact, we had no right as yet to send an exploring party through the country of the Upper Missouri.

A few years later the expedition of Zebulon M. Pike in Colorado and southward into Spanish territory was arrested by the troops of Spain;[3] but, after the members had been held as prisoners for a time, they were returned to the United States. France probably

[1] Vancouver (1758–98) served under Captain James Cook in the latter's second and third voyages. His own voyage of Pacific exploration covered the years 1791–95.

[2] Robert Gray was born in Rhode Island in May, 1755; died in 1806. He commanded the sloop *Lady Washington,* in 1787–90, which explored the Northwest coast, and first carried the United States flag round the world. He made his second voyage to the North Pacific in the *Columbia* in 1791–93. These voyages were financed by Boston merchants for purposes of trade.

[3] Pike's explorations covered the years 1805–07. He was born in New Jersey in 1779, and died in April, 1813, from wounds received in a charge upon the redoubts of York (Toronto), Canada. He was colonel in that engagement.

would not have been prepared to arrest an expedition from the United States, traversing its territory to reach the Pacific Ocean; but, with the completion of the Louisiana purchase, the danger of such an incident was averted.

The Lewis and Clark party was organized quickly after the purchase, and started up the Missouri River from Saint Louis early in the year 1804. Wintering at Mandan on the Missouri, it pressed on in 1805, passed over the Rocky Mountains in the summer of that year; descended a branch [1] of the great southern affluent [2] of the Columbia River to the main stream, followed it until, on November 7, 1805, the horizon of the Pacific Ocean burst upon the view between the two lines of breakers that mark the debouch of the great river into the Great Pacific Sea.[3]

Here, again, as in Gray's discovery, we were but just a little in advance of the English. President Jefferson had been exceedingly anxious that the Lewis and Clark expedition should escape the notice of Great Britain and of the British North West Company, with whom disputes about territorial rights were feared; but, in fact, the expedition did not escape their notice, for no sooner did Lewis and Clark appear on the Missouri than their expedition was discovered by the British, and, in 1805, the British North West Company sent out men to establish posts and occupy territories on the Columbia.[4]

It was the Lewis and Clark exploration that led to the settlement of the country by American citizens, and that exploration, therefore, established us. The first fruit of the exploration was the Astor expedition of 1810–11 — a joint undertaking by land and sea. After some years of effort this failed, in consequence chiefly of the War of 1812. Nathaniel Wyeth, of Boston, made up a party and led it overland in 1832, returned and led a second party to the Co-

[1] Clearwater River.

[2] Snake River.

[3] William Clark's journals — "Great joy in camp. We are in view of the Ocian, the great Pacific Ocean which we have been so long anxious to see and the roreing or noise made by the waves brakeing on the rockey shores may be heard distinctly."

[4] Simon Fraser was on Fraser River, 1806; Francis Antoine Larocque, on Missouri River, 1805.

lumbia River in 1834. It was at this time, also, that the missionary effort began. This was a philanthropic and religious movement, undertaken for the purpose of carrying Christianity and civilization to the Indians. Jason Lee [1] led it in 1834. Samuel Parker [2] followed in 1835; Marcus Whitman[3] and others in 1836. Reinforcements came year by year, in small numbers, both by sea and land. In 1838, Jason Lee, returning, delivered a lecture on Oregon at Peoria, Illinois, which started an independent body of young men for Oregon in the spring of 1839.[4]

From this time parties of increasing strength went in successive years, till, in 1843, a caravan of nearly nine hundred persons with wagons set out from Independence, Missouri, for Oregon.[5] It reached its destination toward the end of that year. Among its members were many men who afterwards attained distinction at home and abroad. Of the number were James W. Nesmith,[6] then a youth, and later, from 1861 to 1867, the well-known senator from Oregon; and Peter H. Burnett,[7] who went to California upon the discovery of gold and became the first governor of California after the admission of that state into the Union.

Years before the war with Mexico, which led to the acquisition by conquest and purchase of California, citizens of the United States had migrated to the Oregon Country in sufficient numbers to es-

[1] See chap. VIII, pp. 207–22, this volume.

[2] Samuel Parker, author of *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains*, Ithaca, New York, 1838; *Narrative of Travels in Oregon*, 1835–36; born at Ashfield, Massachusetts, April 27, 1779; died at Ithaca, New York, March 21, 1866.

[3] See this volume, pp. 223–32; Compiler's Appendix, pp. 302–04.

[4] The Peoria party of nineteen young men started for Oregon from Peoria, Illinois, about May 1, 1839. See note, p. 229, vol. I; also Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, pp. 281, 309–15.

[5] For the roll of this migration and narrative, see address of James W. Nesmith before Oregon Pioneer Association, 1875. Also see Burnett's *Recollections of an Old Pioneer*.

[6] James W. Nesmith was born in Maine July 23, 1820; died at Rickreall, Oregon, June 17, 1885. He served as captain in the Cayuse War. He also served in the Rogue River and the Yakima wars. In 1853–55 he was United States marshal for Oregon; in 1857–59, superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon. See Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 308. See also vol. V, pp. 172–83.

[7] See vol. II, p. 17; also Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, pp. 281–82.

tablish a government. In May, 1843, a provisional government was formed, with avowed allegiance to the United States;[1] but it was difficult, for British influence in the country was strong, and, at a meeting called to form a government, the Americans prevailed by a bare majority — a majority of two.[2] This was effected only through a union of the missionaries, of the free trappers of American nativity, and of other elements of our pioneer life, not congruous in the minor details, but actuated by a common sentiment of allegiance to the United States.

Joseph L. Meek, a native of Virginia, who had gone in his boyhood to the Far West and taken up the life of an explorer and trapper, together with an Indian wife, was chief in this effort. Few persons in our humbler life have done more for this country of ours than this unlettered Virginian boy. He it was who, at that meeting, forced the issue that, by a majority of but two, declared the allegiance of the people of the Oregon Country to the United States.

These were the efforts that gave us — gave the United States — possession of the western half of this continent. I need not dwell on the subject; the merest outline is sufficient, since it is only necessary to say enough to revive the memory of what all know about the movement which carried expansion across the continent long before the purchase of California,[3] and before the discovery of gold in California gave a new impulse to the life of the Western World.

Progress and Promise of the Great Oregon Country[4]

Our Pacific seaboard is to be the seat of empire equal to that on the Atlantic. Men yet living, men not yet old, have seen the Oregon Country develop from smallest beginnings to its present greatness. And its present greatness is the promise of its future.

[1] This government was formed at Champoeg. See vol. II, pp. 3–27.

[2] Later research places the majority at five and lessens the importance of Meek. See vol. II, p. 227.

[3] California was annexed to the United States in 1846 and made a state September 9, 1850; gold was discovered January 24, 1848.

[4] Address by Mr. Scott at eleventh annual banquet of Portland Commercial Club, June 29, 1905.

All the multiplied resources of nature, through which great commonwealths are built up, are present here in abundance. Hitherto the development has been slow; but now, fairly started, it will proceed with constantly accelerating rapidity. It has moved, indeed, with marvelous rapidity hitherto. Compare achievement here, these sixty years, with the achievement of the first sixty years, from the beginning of settlement on the Atlantic Coast. How little was accomplished there during this equal period; how much here.

Our internal development will keep pace with it; in many ways will outrun it. Possibilities of production in these states are unbounded. In agricultural resources there is no superior country. In timber wealth, none equals it; in mineral wealth, none surpasses it. For climate, our Pacific states bear the palm over all other parts of America. This fact is but just now becoming known. I might enlarge on fruit-growing and fisheries and water power, and the possibilities opened for water power through electrical science, but it is needless. No part of the world, at this moment, is so open to the opportunities of intelligent labor as our Pacific states.

We can best understand where we are by some retrospect of what we have been. This is the fifty-third year of my residence in Oregon. Portland, when I first saw it,[1] numbered perhaps eight hundred inhabitants, and was much the largest town in the Oregon Country. Outside the Willamette Valley there were very few settlers — a few hundred in Southern Oregon and a few hundred at Puget Sound. To one who has not actual recollection of the conditions of that period, it is next to impossible to form a conception of the narrowness of conditions, of the slowness and difficulty of communication. And, indeed, for a good many years afterwards it was no better. It would have been pertinent, perhaps, had I told the railroad men last night [2] how we used to travel on foot all over this country for hundreds of miles, invariably carrying a blanket for the night's sleep,

[1] In 1852.

[2] Mr. Scott attended a dinner the night before, given by the Portland Chamber of Commerce for traffic officers of railroad companies, who had been conferring with Portland merchants.

but usually taking chances on the obtainment of food. My father [1] made our first settlement at Puget Sound. Communication between the Columbia River and Puget Sound was by the Cowlitz trail, over which we trudged, waded and swam many a time.[2] Between Rainier and Olympia I have consumed three weeks, all the time making utmost efforts to get on. In the fall of 1856 I had occasion to return to Oregon, and, on the last day of September of that year, set out on foot from Olympia to Portland. I was just one week on the journey, and I think I was the only passenger that week on the trail. Of course, I "slept out" o' nights.

. . . . . .

This reminiscence is merely personal. Now let me give an historical example: At the beginning of the year 1859 I was at Oregon City,[3] grubbing for roots under a tutor, so I might read Horace and Homer, and supporting myself by chopping cordwood. The act that made Oregon a state had been passed by Congress in the month of February in that year.[4] But it was more than a month before we could know of it, and when known it excited little interest. The news came to this coast by way of Panama, and by the steamer *Brother Jonathan*, from San Francisco to Portland. That steamer arrived at Portland the afternoon of March 15. At Oregon City the news that Oregon was a state did not arrive until nearly noon the next day. A few persons talked about it with languid interest, and wondered when the government of the state would be set in operation. Perhaps it would be another week before it would be known at the capital (Salem) that Oregon was now a sovereign state, and the pioneer governor-elect, John Whiteaker,[5] might not hear of it

[1] John Tucker Scott came to Oregon in 1852 and settled near Shelton, Washington Territory, in 1854, at a place yet known as Scott's Prairie. He was born in Washington County, Kentucky, February 18, 1809; died at Forest Grove, Oregon, September 1, 1880. See vol. v, pp. 217–18.

[2] See vol. II, pp. 31, 48, 49; Compiler's Appendix, p. 249.

[3] See Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 282.

[4] Oregon was admitted a state by act of Congress, February 14, 1859.

[5] John Whiteaker was governor of Oregon in 1859–62, and sympathized with the Southern cause. He came to Oregon in 1852. He was born in Indiana, May 4, 1820; died at Eugene, Oregon, October 2, 1902. He served several terms in the Oregon legislature and one term in the national House of Representatives.

at his farm in Lane County for a month to come. An announcement, that now would be instantly made at every telegraph station and would call forth the boom of guns and the peal of bells, passed almost unnoticed. But it occurred to a young man at Oregon City, named Stephen Senter, that there were persons at Salem who might wish to have the news, so he mounted a horse and started as messenger. At that time of the year it was not easy to ride. Molalla[1] and Pudding rivers[2] were to be crossed; both were out over the banks, and, needless to say, the mud was at its worst. But this courier and herald of the state persevered, and, after an effort of thirty hours, reached Salem with the news.[3] Naturally, the announcement was received with more interest at the capital than elsewhere, for it meant that the state government would supersede the territorial; but the people at large evinced little or no interest in it.

But it should not be inferred, from the simplicity of our manners of that time, that the constitution which had been made for our state was an immature work. It was a product of preceding experience in government, adapted to our times and conditions. So ripe was it, so complete, that it has served our purposes ever since. Permanent principles are fixed in it. It contains little that could be called temporary, and that little passes almost unnoticed; for what is unnecessary in constitutions and laws quickly becomes obsolete.

Yet life had its special attractions. We were content with little, and were not poor, because we had few wants. We were, I think, more cordial and hearty toward each other; for intense devotion to our various pursuits had not then thrown all the energies of each into a single channel, and so, to an extent, separated us from each other, as now. True, we had to work to live, but each one felt that we had a little time for the intercourse of social life. There is not much of that sort of leisure now. Yet there might better be. Nature

[1] Molalla was the name of a tribe of Indians who inhabited the region now known as Marion and Clackamas counties. Molalla is now the name of a river flowing into Pudding River, which enters the Willamette south of Oregon City. For the name *Molalla*, see Compiler's Appendix, p. 282, this volume.

[2] For note on Pudding River, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 283.

[3] This journey is now made easily by automobile in an hour and a half. The distance is less than forty miles.

requires us to work, but has ways of punishing excesses in that direction, too. Nature may make success itself useless, for the wreath often covers hair that has grown gray, and fame comes when the hearts it should have thrilled are numb. The greatest of all moral writers has said:

> They lose it that do buy it with much care.

Many are yet living who have seen the wool that made the family clothing carded and spun in the house; who have seen the spinning wheel and the loom, indispensable portions of the domestic plant, occupying a large part of the space in a small cabin; who have seen the dye pots standing in the chimney corners at the open fire where the meals of the family were cooked;[1] who have been members of households where every part of the work about house and farm was done in a particular way, with clocklike regularity — the management of crops, the care of animals, the making of soap, the curing of meats, and attention to all the arts and duties of independent family life. Scarcely anything was bought; each family supplied its own wants, and, though there was plenty of a kind, it surprises us now to think how few things were necessary.

We have passed out of this mode of life because we could not remain in it. New conditions have grown up around us to which, of necessity, we conform. Society is in a perpetual flux, and, though we look back to the past for instruction, we accept the present without regret, and look forward to the future with an eager, but undefined expectation. We talk of successive generations of men, but, looking at society in a mass, the generations do not come and go. One unites with another, and there is no line of separation. But the whole living organism to which we belong is carried forward by impulses that lie within the laws of its own existence. The changes are assumed only by degrees, and not with abruptness; they come as a cumulative effect, yet that effect cannot abide or remain in any state of fixity, but must pass on.

[1] This was one of the earliest scenes, in the memory of Mr. Scott, of his boyhood home near Peoria, Illinois, where pioneer conditions then prevailed. It is a portrayal of pioneer life in Oregon.

Familiar as I am, and during a long period have been, with the growth and progress of the Oregon Country — and, indeed, of all our Pacific Coast states — I am yet, upon review of this growth and progress, astonished at what has been accomplished within the period of my own observation. We who observed the slowness of the growth, during a long period of time, could not imagine we should live to see what we have seen; and yet, all that heretofore has been accomplished is as nothing to the prospect that opens before us. Industry and production are the factors of our material progress, in peace, as iron and gold are the two main nerves of war. Industry, operating on the resources of nature, in a country so favored as ours, will do all things. *Labor omnia vincit* remains as true as in the olden time, and truer; for man now is able to make the forces of nature serve him in innumerable ways formerly unknown.

Our states of the Pacific Coast are linked together in a common interest. Together they have risen; together they still will rise and grow. Forces within them and without them, whether similar or common, or not, all work toward the same end. Industry, production and commerce are at work with more than the hundred hands of Briareus.

Note our situation on the Pacific seaboard. Note also that the changes of recent times have virtually made the Pacific an American sea. The active theater of the world's new effort is now in Asia and Western America. The two hemispheres, heretofore in communication only across the Atlantic, are now rapidly developing an intercourse over the Pacific. Many steamships, and an increasing number, on regular lines, now sail between our Pacific ports and the ports of the Orient, and of tramp steamers and sailing vessels, a large and continually growing fleet. Pressure of Russia and of other nations upon China and Japan is creating a prodigious activity, and is sure to result in vast transformations there. England, France and Germany have their spheres of active influence in that same enormous field. We are in touch, then, with a movement that includes more than one-half the human race. We are in the Philippine Islands ourselves, an incomparable station for observation and com-

merce. Participation in the results that are to come from the transformation of the Orient will be had through the ports of our Pacific states — the way stations en route to lands across the Pacific.

Of this mighty development, now just beginning to appear, our country should take all proper advantage. It means a commerce on the Pacific which will rival that of the Atlantic. It means mighty industrial and commercial progress for our states of the western side of the continent. Where now are four millions of people there may be fifty millions by the close of this century, with every kind of intellectual and moral development comparable with the material prosperity.

I shall not attempt statistical detail of the great growing industry and commerce of the great Pacific Northwest. Such detail is printed in appropriate places, and is to be consulted at leisure. It requires art and genius, too, to make statistical detail attractive, and, perhaps, even art and genius have never succeeded in doing it.

But, from review of the past and observation of the present, we may see the promise of the future. Like the old Welsh bard, with all the past impressed upon his soul and looking down the historical vista to a wonderful future, one may echo the exclamation:

> Visions of glory, spare my aching sight;
> Ye unborn ages, crowd not on my soul!

CHAPTER II

EARLY NAVIGATORS IN THE NORTH PACIFIC

History of Early Pacific Commerce

(*The Oregonian*, August 29, 1892)

Fifty years ago, Thomas H. Benton,[1] United States senator from Missouri, prophesied that the time would come when the commerce of the Orient would enter the Columbia River for transmission across the continent.[2] At that time there was but little transpacific commerce. Gold had not been discovered in California,[3] and the city of San Francisco existed only in embryo in the little pueblo of Yerba Buena. The commerce of the Pacific was transacted by roving traders, chiefly English and American, who traded along the coast, to the Hawaiian Islands, to China, and, in the course of two or three years, reached home again. The sudden growth of San Francisco led to establishment of a regular steamer line across the Pacific, and though that port was not the one Senator Benton predicted, it was the first step toward realization of his prophecy. The movement northward of Oriental commerce, by the establishment of lines across the Pacific from Vancouver, Puget Sound and Portland, and the proposed line between the latter city and Honolulu,

[1] Thomas Hart Benton (1782–1858) was United States senator, 1821–51.

[2] See Senator Benton's letter to J. M. Shively, dated March, 1847: "While I live — which I hope will be long enough to see an emporium of Asiatic commerce at the mouth of your river, and a stream of Asiatic trade pouring into the valley of the Mississippi, through the channel of Oregon"; *History of the Willamette Valley*, by Himes and Lang, p. 320. See Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 283.

[3] Gold was discovered January 24, 1848, by James W. Marshall and Charles Bennett, near Coloma, on the north fork of American River (*The Oregonian*, June 13, 1909). News of the discovery came to Oregon in August, 1848, by the schooner *Honolulu*, Captain Newell, after he had shrewdly bought all the tools and provisions that the limited pioneer market of Oregon afforded. Marshall was an immigrant to Oregon of 1844. He went to California in 1846. The excitement created in Oregon was intense. Many people left Oregon in quest of California gold.

show still more progress in that direction. That the future will see Benton's prediction fulfilled, and the mouth of the Columbia River a great port of entry for Asiatic commerce, there is little reason to doubt.

It is three and one-half centuries since the first vessel sailed upon the Pacific [1] and commerce across that greatest of oceans sprang up, and its early history is full of interest. The conquest of the Indies, Mexico, Peru and Chili by the Spaniards did not satisfy their thirst for territorial acquisition and the plunder of rich but helpless peoples. They still had their eyes fixed upon the real Indies, that had been the goal of Columbus, and still longed to grasp the wealth of famed Cathay and the wonderful island of Cipango. Cortes and his successor, Mendoza, sent vessels across the ocean, stimulated by rivalry of the Portuguese, who had discovered the route around the Cape of Good Hope. After several unsuccessful expeditions, the Philippine Islands were subdued, in 1571, and a trade, from which the nation derived enormous revenue, sprang up. Spain's possessions in America formed not only an intermediate station, as a base of operations, but supplied the gold and silver with which to purchase silks, porcelain and spices in the Orient. Annually the great galleons sailed from Mexico with gold and silver, and returned laden with the precious products of the East, which were transported across the Isthmus to ships waiting to carry them to the mother country.

This rich commerce of Spain in the Pacific Ocean escaped attack from European enemies for nearly half a century after they began to harry it on the Atlantic Coast. The first hostile fleet to enter the Pacific was that of Sir Francis Drake, who passed the Straits of Magellan in 1578, levied contributions on the Spanish ports, captured the East Indian galleon off the coast of California, and, failing to find a northern passage into the Atlantic and being afraid to risk

[1] Magellan entered the Pacific Ocean November 28, 1520. Cortes conquered Mexico, 1519–21; Francisco Pizarro conquered Peru, 1532–33; the Spaniards conquered Chili, 1541–50; the Spaniards were active in the East Indies after Magellan's discoveries in 1521. They possessed themselves of the Philippine Islands, 1565–71.

capture at the Straits of Magellan, crossed the ocean and returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope, his vessel laden with plunder. Encouraged by Drake's success, other English freebooters entered the Pacific and preyed upon the Spanish commerce. The first and most successful of these was Thomas Cavendish, who voyaged along the coasts of Chili, Peru and Mexico, sank and burned nineteen vessels and captured the galleon *Santa Anna* off the coast of California. He returned to England round Good Hope, having accomplished the third circumnavigation of the globe — those of Magellan and Drake being the first and second. It is said that his crew were dressed in silks, his sails were made of damask, and the topmast was covered with cloth of gold.

Twenty-nine years later two Dutch navigators, William Van Schouten and Jacob Lemaire, discovered the open sea passage around Cape Horn, and thus opened a route into the Pacific less dangerous than the straits, and one the Spaniards could not defend.[1] Privateers of England, France and The Netherlands swarmed into the South sea and plundered the helpless commerce of Spain, and buccaneers attacked the Spanish possessions from both the Atlantic and Pacific sides. Especially did the Dutch aid in this way the desperate struggle of The Netherlands to throw off the Spanish yoke. The Gulf of California became their rallying place, their special rendezvous being the Bay of Pichilingue, which won for them the name *Pichalinquis* — a name both feared and hated by the mariners of Spain. The feeble efforts of Spain to dislodge these bold marauders, who were literally draining the life blood of the nation, were in vain. Several times Spain made great preparations to exterminate them, but, even if driven out, they returned again in greater numbers so soon as the way was open. For a whole century these buccaneers plundered the Spanish settlements and commerce before they

[1] Lemaire and Van Schouten rounded Cape Horn, thereby discovering the second passage to the South sea, January 31, 1616; crossed the Pacific and arrived at the Maluccas September 17, 1616. Their vessels were the *Erndracht*, 360 tons, and the *Hoorn*, 110 tons. They named Cape Horn after Schouten's native town, Hoorn, in West Friesland. The Dutch, after escape from Spanish tyranny, displayed energy in commerce equal to that of the British.

were finally disposed of; and, by this time, both the commerce and power of Spain had begun to decline.

For another century Spain had undisputed control of the Pacific, and then, a little more than one hundred years ago, Russia from the north, and England and the United States from the southeast and southwest, entered the Pacific, and the great fur trade between China and the American coast was opened. The most successful traders were the Yankees, and the stars and stripes were the most frequently seen in Pacific waters. Spain's commerce and possessions in America dwindled gradually, until it lost footing entirely in California, Mexico, Central America and down the West coast. By the time gold was discovered in California, San Francisco founded, a transpacific line established, and the first step of Benton's prophecy taken, Spain was entirely unknown in the waters it had dominated for nearly three centuries. Such is the history of Pacific commerce. What it shall be in the future is much a matter of speculation, but he will not go far wrong who puts faith in the vision of the great Missouri statesman.

The Fable of Juan de Fuca

(*The Oregonian*, December 2, 1880)

A writer in the December *Californian* undertakes to prove that the voyage of Juan de Fuca, the navigator who is alleged to be the first who saw the strait that bears his name, is a myth. The received account is that in the year 1592 De Fuca, then in the service of Spain, entered what is now known as the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The writer in the *Californian* essays to dispose of De Fuca as an historic character. The claim of this alleged navigator rests on the narrative of Michael Lock, who says that when he was at Venice, in 1596, an old man, then sixty years of age, called Juan de Fuca, a native of Greece and a mariner by profession, arrived there, having come from Spain. And he professes to have set down the story as the old Greek pilot related it.[1]

[1] For note on Juan de Fuca, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, pp. 283-84.

In brief, the story is that De Fuca had been in the West Indies forty years, and had sailed to and from many places in the service of the Spaniards. Afterwards he was employed by the viceroy of Mexico, who sent him out upon the South sea — that is, the Pacific Ocean — on a voyage of discovery to the supposed Strait of Anian, with a view to finding the imagined way to the North sea — that is, the Northwest Passage was to be discovered and explored from this, the western side of the continent. The story is that between 47 and 48 degrees of latitude [1] he entered a broad inlet of the sea, and, sailing therein more than twenty days, he found at length a much broader sea than was at the entrance to the strait. He went on land in many places and found it "very fruitful, and rich of gold, silver, pearls and other things." Being come unto the North sea, and finding it to be thirty or forty leagues wide in the mouth of the strait where he entered, he thought "he had now finished the object of his voyage, and so put about and arrived at Acapulco." This is presented as the only evidence on which the alleged discovery rests. There is nothing in the records of Spain or Mexico to corroborate this account; and, between 1584 and 1596, there is no record of any Spanish expedition fitted out in Mexico for the North Pacific.

According to Lock's narrative, De Fuca had been received coldly in Spain and had gone to Italy, on his way to his old home. At Venice he related his story and made an appeal for English aid. Lock reports him as offering to go to England and lead an expedition for discovery of the Northwest Passage, if the queen would pay him for goods which he said he had lost at the hands of Sir Thomas Cavendish, one of England's noted freebooters of that time.

The story does, indeed, wear an apocryphal look throughout. The appeal for English aid was motive enough for telling it. It is a very suspicious circumstance that no part of his story is confirmed by an official or historical record anywhere. The geography is glaringly incorrect; and, as the Spanish authorities never laid

[1] Latitude of the strait is between 48 and 49 degrees.

claim to such discovery, it is declared impossible that such an expedition should have sailed from Mexico or under auspices of the Spanish authorities. Moreover, "concurrent history negatives, and the mercenary motive taints, the whole story." This is the conclusion of the *Californian* writer, who adds:

> Whether Lock fabricated the story and what was his purpose, or whether the so-called Greek pilot imposed on him, will never be learned. To-day the only tenable view is that the Strait of Juan de Fuca was first seen by white men in 1787, and that the party who saw it was the crew of the longboat of the Austrian East Indiaman, *Imperial Eagle*, commanded by Captain Barkley.[1]

(*The Oregonian*, January 17, 1881)

Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor [2] has an article in the *West Shore* [3] for January on "The Nomenclature of Puget Sound," which attempts to controvert the theory recently developed in the *Californian*, that Juan de Fuca, the supposed discoverer of the strait of that name, connecting the Pacific Ocean and Puget Sound, is a myth, and the stories of his career and discoveries a mere tale of romance. Mrs. Victor says that in 1592 the viceroy of Mexico, acting for the Spanish government, fitted out an expedition to explore the Northwest coast of this continent and to take possession of it in the name of the Spanish sovereign. The command of this expedition was given to Juan de Fuca, a Greek pilot, who, after the custom of adventuresome spirits of his day, had entered the service of Spain, then the strongest and most enterprising maritime power of Europe. In cruising along the coast, De Fuca discovered the strait which now bears his name; but he was nearly a degree out of his reckoning, and the location of the strait was so erroneously reported on his charts.

Subsequent expeditions, calling in at the latitude of the errone-

[1] See Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 284.

[2] Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor was an extensive writer on Oregon historical subjects. She was born at Rome, New York, May 23, 1826; died at Portland, Oregon, November 14, 1902. She is the accredited author of Bancroft's *History of Oregon*. See vol. III, pp. 350–51.

[3] Published at Portland, in 1875–91, by L. Samuel; in 1875–89, as a monthly; after that, as a weekly.

ous location on the charts, failed to find the openings discovered by De Fuca, and so the story soon passed for a sailor's yarn. It was not until nearly two hundred years later that his discovery was vindicated; and it is of interest that it was by an American captain, who had but just succeeded to the command of a vessel which Captain Robert Gray, the discoverer of the Columbia River, had left to become master of the *Columbia*.[1] Hence it is that to a Greek, Apostolas Valerinos — for the name of "Juan de Fuca" was assumed in connection with his Spanish service — we are indebted for the name of that remarkable arm of the sea leading into the "finest body of water in the world." [2]

Mrs. Victor's statements in this matter are peculiarly worthy of attention, from her wide study and knowledge of subjects relating to the Northwest. Still, as it appears to us, the doubt cast upon De Fuca's claim, by the article in the *Californian*, is not removed by Mrs. Victor. That claim rests upon an exceedingly slender thread of story, as the *Californian* showed, and is nowhere supported by a single document or fact of Spanish or Mexican history.

Explorers of Puget Sound

(*The Oregonian*, March 27, 1892)

The proposed celebration of April 29, as the day of the entrance into the Strait of Fuca by the celebrated English navigator and discoverer, Captain George Vancouver, while appropriate, should not be undertaken with the idea that it commemorates the discovery and first exploration of those waters subsequent to the mythical voyage of the Greek pilot whose name they bear.[3] Vancouver was, indeed, the first to enter and explore Puget Sound proper, from the entrance to Admiralty Inlet and Commencement Bay, where Tacoma now stands, and to Budd Inlet, the harbor of Olympia; but the Strait of Fuca had been explored, many

[1] The American captain was John Kendrick, of the *Lady Washington*, whose explorations were contemporary with those of Meares in 1788.

[2] These words are frequently applied to Puget Sound.

[3] This celebration took place May 7, 1892, at Port Townsend. See *The Oregonian*, May 8, 1892.

places named and some of them even occupied by the Spaniards, before Vancouver's arrival. A Spanish exploring expedition was found by Vancouver, hard at work charting and naming the islands and passages lying between Vancouver Island and the present state of Washington, when he entered the strait and began the work of bestowing English names upon places previously explored, charted and christened by his predecessors.[1]

Without touching upon the disputed question of the voyage of Juan de Fuca, the verity of which some historians have been felt called upon to support, there were plenty of predecessors of the English navigator in the waters of Strait of Juan de Fuca. Captain Barkley (sometimes spelled Barclay), whose name is perpetuated in Barclay Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, made a fur-trading voyage along the coast in 1787, in the ship *Imperial Eagle*, observed the entrance to the strait and noted it on his chart, but made no effort to explore it.[2] The first attempt at exploration was made the following year by Captain John Meares, an enterprising English naval officer, who, carrying on the fur trade under the Portuguese flag, for very much the same reasons American sealers are now raiding Behring Sea under the flag of Great Britain, nearly embroiled Spain and England in a bloody war by coming into conflict with Spanish vessels in Nootka Sound.[3] This difficulty was what led to the coming of Vancouver to the coast as one of the commissioners to carry out the Nootka convention.[4]

Meares, having been informed of the existence of this passage by Barkley, appeared off its entrance June 29, 1788, in the ship *Felice*, and sent a boat's crew of thirteen men to explore it. The boat proceeded up the channel from ten to thirty miles, variously stated, though given at thirty by Meares himself, when it was fiercely at-

[1] The Spanish explorers were Jacinto Caamaño, Salvador Fidalgo, Dionisio Galiano and Cayetano Valdes.

[2] See Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 284.

[3] Nootka Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island. The name is of Indian origin. See Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 285.

[4] This convention or treaty of October 28, 1790, between Spain and Britain, provided for adjustment of rival claims of the two nations at Nootka Sound, over rights of trade.

tacked by the Indians. The men were finally compelled to return, all of them wounded, reaching the vessel after an absence of a week. Meares entered the passage on his chart and named it Juan de Fuca, in honor of its putative discoverer of two centuries before.

Unless the very doubtful claim that Captain John Kendrick, in the *Lady Washington*, the sister ship of the *Columbia*, sailed round Vancouver Island in 1790, be allowed — and there is little evidence to support it[1] — the honor of first exploring the Strait of Fuca in a vessel belongs to Lieutenant Alferez Manuel Quimper, of the Spanish navy, who sailed from Nootka Sound, in the summer of 1790, in the *Princess Royal*, one of the vessels captured from Meares while using the Portuguese flag, and explored the straits and passage carefully for one hundred miles. He observed the entrance to Puget Sound, or Admiralty Inlet, and called it Enceñada de Caamaño. Many of the names bestowed by him were afterwards changed by Vancouver, but one of them, the Canal de Lopez de Haro, still remains as the Haro Strait. He took formal possession of the country in the name of the king of Spain at the port of Nuñez Gaona, now known as Neah Bay. The following year Lieutenant Francisco Eliza, in the *San Carlos*, and José Maria Narvaez, in the *Santa Saturnina*, also explored the strait, did not enter Caamaño Inlet (Puget Sound), but observed that it was an inland passage, and explored the Georgia Strait as far north as latitude 50 degrees. Of the names bestowed by them, some of those still remaining are San Juan, Guemes, Tejada (Texada, commonly called), Port Angeles, Fidalgo and Rosario. Even a third Spanish expedition explored those waters before Vancouver did, and this is the one he found at work upon his arrival. The vessels *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, under the command of Dionisio Galiano and Cayetano Valdes, entered the strait on June 4, 1792, just twenty-six days in advance of Vancouver, and were found by him two months later in the Georgia Strait, upon his entrance into that body of water after his exploration of Puget Sound proper. For a time the two expeditions

[1] See *The First Circumnavigation of Vancouver Island*, by Dr. Charles F. Newcombe, of Victoria; see also p. 143.

worked together, but the Spaniards, unable to brook the overbearing manner of their English associates, left them and continued north through the passage between Vancouver Island and the main land, and completed the first circumnavigation of the island. They bestowed names upon objects that were renamed a few weeks later, when the English navigator also went through the passage, and it is the names given by Vancouver, and not those bestowed by the original Spanish discoverers, that are now used. The same year, on March 23, three months before Vancouver arrived, Lieutenant Salvador Fidalgo, in the *Princess Royal*, landed at Nuñez Gaona (Neah Bay), erected buildings and fortifications and took armed possession of the country, and Vancouver sailed by this fortified settlement on his way up the strait.

It would seem that 1892 is rather late to begin the celebration of the centennial of the discovery and exploration of the Strait of Juan de Fuca.[1] Port Discovery,[2] in particular, would be two years behind time, for that place was discovered by Quimper in 1790 and named Pomo Bodega y Quadra (sometimes written Cuadra). Juan de la Bodega y Quadra was the Spanish commissioner at Nootka in 1792, who dealt with Vancouver two years before Vancouver named it after his vessel, the *Discovery*. Celebrations of this nature are proper and even commendable; but, if they be intended to fix in the mind great historical events, care should be taken to make it certain that the event fixed accords with the records of history, and the celebration does not perpetuate an error.

The Exploration Period, 1788–92 — Its Importance in Northwest History

(*The Oregonian*, March 29, 1892)

Although it is too late to celebrate the true centennial of the Strait of Fuca and the discovery and naming of the bays and islands along its shores and in the waters lying between the island of Vancouver and the state of Washington and the mainland of British Columbia, the year 1892 is one of important centennials in the

[1] Referring to centennial celebrations held in 1892. [2] See note, next page.

Northern region that may well be celebrated. Seattle,[1] Tacoma [2] and Olympia [3] could unite in a joint celebration of the discovery of Elliott Bay,[4] Commencement Bay [5] and Budd Inlet[6] — which occurred within a period of a few days — by expeditions sent out from Vancouver's fleet, rendezvoused at Port Discovery.[7] Puget Sound proper was first explored and named by Vancouver in 1792; and while the event has not the great historical significance of Gray's discovery of the Columbia River the same year, the importance of that great inland sea, and the manifest destiny of the great cities growing up on its harbors, render a celebration of the centennial of that event both appropriate and desirable. Such occasions always increase patriotism and stimulate national pride and local enthusiasm — all necessary elements of prosperity and progress.

While Victoria could not celebrate the centennial of the discovery of Vancouver Island, it could celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the christening and circumnavigation.[8] Juan Perez, a Spanish explorer sent out by the viceroy of Mexico, having been so far north as the Queen Charlotte Islands, returned along down the coast in his vessel, the *Santiago*, and on August 9, 1774, entered a harbor on the west coast of the island, which he named San Lorenzo.[9]

[1] For note on Seattle, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. II, p. 246.

[2] For note on Tacoma, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 285.

[3] For note on Olympia, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 285.

[4] Elliott Bay, at Seattle, was named in 1841 by Lieutenant Ringgold, under Charles Wilkes, U.S.N., who surveyed Admiralty Inlet. It was named, probably, for Chaplain J. L. Elliott, of the sloop of war *Vincennes*, of Wilkes' fleet. Admiralty Inlet was named by Vancouver in 1792, in honor of the board of admiralty of the royal British navy.

[5] Commencement Bay, at Tacoma, was named by Lieutenant Ringgold, who began his surveys from that place.

[6] Budd Inlet, at Olympia, was named after Thomas A. Budd, one of the surveyors under Wilkes; in later years called *Olympia Bay*.

[7] Port Discovery, west of Port Townsend, was named by Vancouver after his sloop of war *Discovery*.

[8] The exact time of discovery of Vancouver Island is uncertain, but Spanish navigators doubtless were the first to see it. Perez, in 1774, and Bodega y Quadra, in 1775, viewed the island. The history of Vancouver Island is narrated by Edgar W. Wright in *The Oregonian*, May 1, 1904, p. 32.

[9] See next page for identity of this harbor.

Perez stayed five days to trade with the Indians and then departed for home. In March, 1778, nearly four years after the voyage of Perez, Captain James Cook, the celebrated English explorer, sailed into San Lorenzo harbor in the ship *Resolution*, accompanied by Captain Charles Clerke, in the *Discovery*, where he remained a month, making repairs and trading with the natives. This was his first landing on the American coast. Unaware of the voyage of Perez, and supposing he was the "first man on the ground," he named the harbor King George's Sound, subsequently changing it to Nootka Sound, upon learning that to be the Indian title — a practice not followed as much as it should have been by those who bestowed the names now in use on the Pacific Coast. In 1785, James Hanna, an Englishman, made the first regular trading voyage to the American coast. He sailed from the Portuguese port of Macao, in the East Indies, secured a cargo of furs at Nootka Sound, and sold them in China for $20,000.

Vancouver and Quadra met at Nootka in August, 1792, just after both the Spanish and English vessels had sailed round Vancouver Island, and agreed to call the island by their joint titles. It was entered on both their charts as the island of Vancouver and Quadra.[1] The Spaniard's name did not long remain on English maps, the subsequent supremacy of England in that region settling the question of disputed nomenclature in favor of the Anglo-Saxon. Though not the date of the actual discovery of Vancouver Island, 1792 was the date of its christening and of discovery that it was an island, and not a portion of the mainland, and its centennial may well be celebrated, even though it would have little historical significance.

There was, however, in 1793, an event that our neighbors of British Columbia might celebrate, with enthusiasm, as second only in historical importance to the discovery of the Columbia, and, to the loyal subjects of Queen Victoria, of more moment. This was the first overland journey to the Pacific across North America and the discovery of Fraser River. To this journey, more than to the

[1] Vancouver's charts show *Quadra and Vancouver's Island.*

voyages of Cook and Vancouver, does England owe the possession of British Columbia. Cook and Vancouver only followed Spanish explorers, but brave Alexander Mackenzie followed no man. It was the strongest element in the English claim.

Alexander Mackenzie was one of the partners in the North West Company, whose extreme trading post was established in 1788 on Lake Athabasca, twelve hundred miles northwest of Lake Superior, and called Fort Chipewyan. From this western headquarters, Mackenzie made a journey to the Arctic Ocean in 1789, following a great river from Great Slave Lake to the ocean, and bestowing his own name upon the stream. In 1792 he started from Chipewyan on a journey to the Pacific. His small party followed up Peace River and camped for the winter at the base of the Rocky Mountains. In the spring of 1793 the journey was resumed. When Fraser River was encountered, canoes were made, and the party passed down the stream two hundred miles, finally leaving it and crossing to the coast. The river Mackenzie followed was believed to be identical with the Columbia, until Simon Fraser, fifteen years later, explored it to its mouth. In 1806 Fraser established a post near the great bend of the river, and in 1808 journeyed to the mouth of the stream.

The object of Fraser's expedition was to forestall the Americans in making a settlement on the Columbia; but, defeated in this, it established a good claim to the region drained by the Fraser. Had he actually reached the Columbia, as he intended, things might have been differently adjusted; though, in view of other events, probably not. Had neither he nor Mackenzie made their journeys, the people of British Columbia would now owe their allegiance to Uncle Sam instead of to her majesty; and, if escape from this fate be a matter of congratulation to them, they may as well spend a day celebrating the centennial of brave Alexander Mackenzie's journey.

CHAPTER III

BEGINNINGS OF OREGON

Exploration and First Settlement of the Oregon Country [1]

By invitation I am to give a short account of the beginnings of our history at Astoria, where those beginnings were made. This locality was the destination of our very first pioneers.[2] Here was the scene of their work. Here, in the vision of the poet, was the band of pioneers, founders of commonwealths, the first low wash of the waves of migration, where soon was to roll a great human sea. We are approaching the end of the first centenary cycle of this movement and beginning of the second. It is especially fit, therefore, that new interest in our history should now be awakened.

This history, as the beginning of American empire on the Pacific Coast, is a record of profound interest. It has its place among the events of first importance in the development of the United States. Discovery of the mouth of the Columbia River was made May 11, 1792, by Captain Robert Gray, a New England navigator, who says in his log book, under that date:

> Beheld our desired port, bearing east-south-east, a distance of six leagues. At 8 A.M., being a little to the windward of the entrance of the harbor; bore away and ran in east-north-east between the breakers, having from five to seven fathoms of water. When we were over the bar we found this to be a large river of fresh water, up which we steered.

Captain Gray remained in the river from the 11th to the 20th of May. He ascended about twenty-five miles. The British navigator, Meares, left, as a memento of his failure to discover the river, the name *Cape Disappointment* [3] to the promontory on the north side, where the river debouches into the ocean.

Gray, sailing out of the river to the northward, met Vancouver,

[1] From an address delivered by Mr. Scott in Methodist Church, Astoria, Oregon, April 18, 1901, before the Clatsop County Teachers' Institute.

[2] For note on Astoria, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 286.

[3] For note on Cape Disappointment, see vol. I, p. 286.

The Daily Oregonian.

MONDAY MORNING, APRIL 3, 187[illegible]

INTRODUCTORY.

The announcement I have to make to the readers of the OREGONIAN is a simple one. It has already been stated to the public that Hon. H. W. Corbett has disposed of the interest he held in the paper. I have purchased an important part of that interest. If it would not be deemed unnecessary egotism I should be pleased to give expression to the thought that in taking editorial charge of the OREGONIAN I address a good many readers to whom my work heretofore has made me somewhat familiar. I approach the work again with no little diffidence, and with a deeper sense of its responsibilities and requirements than I readily find words to express. The chair has been filled for several years by one who was able to bring to the work large and conceded abilities. None know this better than those who have often been numbered with his opponents. I do not undertake to continue his work; this will not be expected. No one can work wholly on the line or plan, or in the spirit, of another. Yet I think it right to say that certain general ideas that have been developed in the course of the paper embody no inconsiderable part of the true theory of journalism, and will not be widely departed from.

A true newspaper cannot make it the chief object of its existence to yield indiscriminating and servile support to party and party measures. In such a course it can never fulfill the better functions of journalism. An independent treatment of political subjects does not argue instability of purpose or weakness of conviction. The true mean is found between narrow and obsequious partisanship on the one hand and mincing neutrality on the other. A newspaper devoting itself without discrimination to the requirements of partisanship, and looking only to party ends, never yet reached assured and permanent success. All the better and more influential journals of the country—and in a conspicuous degree those journals of Republican tendencies, to whose powerful support the Republican party is mainly indebted for its continued successes, are on the higher plane. It is a poor sort of criticism that stops at the threshold of one's own party; it is a poor sort of newspaper for these times that habitually suppresses or avoids critical judgment upon measures and men connected with the party with which it is associated. A newspaper that aspires to distinction and to the higher success that crowns independent and honorable journalism cannot consent to be known simply as the exponent of a party policy, the thick-and-thin defender of party measures, and the unvarying supporter of party men, without regard to fitness or desert.

At the same time party has its uses and journalism must make a choice. No doubt there is a sort of moral and political prudery in such as profess to stand aloof entirely from party, on the plea that no party is good enough for them; and those who believe that party is to be done away with all its evil works, have simply a visionary scheme of perfection. Party combination is an indispensable condition of politics in a free country. There are leading general principles of government on which men will unite or divide. But no man will allow himself to be committed in advance to support all measures his party may possibly take; still less can a general newspaper, which has larger relations with the public than any individual can possibly maintain, allow itself in the present times to be pledged to defend all that may be done or attempted in the name of its party, or to be wholly blind to the occasional unfitness of its party's candidates.

The journalist who has a just conception of the scope and dignity of his work can have no personal grievances or animosities, and no private interests or resentments, to obtrude upon the public. His first business is to see that he makes a *newspaper*. With this paramount idea his whole work should be in accord. Politics constitute but a single, and not at all times the most important feature, of proper journalism. In our State large and varied interests affecting the growth and welfare of a rising community press upon the public attention. It is the business of journalism to deal with these matters as they arise, and use all possible endeavor to further the industrial, educational and moral development which is the basis of a people's permanent well-being and greatness. If the OREGONIAN under my direction shall be able to contribute something to these ends, and shall continue to be an acceptable newspaper to a community in which it has long been indispensable, I can have no higher or ulterior purpose. The paper will look only to legitimate business as a public journal for success. It will have no political or other schemes to push forward for the advantage of any one; no one connected with it will have ends in view to be sought through party methods or the machinery of political organization. Between such things and the legitimate pursuit of journalism there is an incompatibility that never can be reconciled, however earnest and sincere the attempt. To be successful the newspaper business must be pursued for its own sake. Addressing myself to this work I request the considerate indulgence of the public. H. W. SCOTT.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA CASE.

The first step toward a solution of the difficulty in South Carolina has been taken. An order will be issued withdrawing the United States troops from the State House in Columbia. This would [illegible]

from all accessible ranges; yet the killed annually is still very large. A Col[illegible] there are nine establishments f[illegible]ing and preparing robes and skins fo[illegible] Few large and fine animals are no[illegible] and the robes usually are of less r[illegible] than formerly, though the price is gr[illegible]

Several communications relating school election, which takes place to crowded out. We would have willin[illegible] lished all that were offered, includi[illegible] from Salem, had space sufficed; but t[illegible]ber was so great it was impossible.

MARRIED:

At Vancouver, March 20, by B. H. Gric[illegible] Mr. D. H. Stevens and Miss Clara Dunlwa[illegible] In Yamhill county, March 28, William[illegible] derson and Annie Nelson.

Near Stellacoom, W. T., March 28, Samu[illegible]y and Emma Vorshover.

At the residence of A. C. Petteys, on Will[illegible] Umatilla county, by W. R. Marquise, J. [illegible] 14, Mr. M. B. Petteys and Miss Sarah E. M[illegible]

DIED:

By drowning in Clackamas river, Ma[illegible] Charles W. Pope, aged 45 years.

Funeral will take place at Oregon City [illegible] o'clock. Friends of deceased are invi[illegible] tend.

NEW TO-DAY.

WANTED.

$14000 OR LESS, ON FIRST CLA[illegible] property, first mortgage interest at 10 per cent. per annum for th[illegible] Address ARTHUR FAHIE, Portland.

STRAYED.

FROM THE SOUTHERN PART OF TI[illegible] a large red COW, 8 years old, straig[illegible] gentle disposition. The party returning [illegible] be rewarded. ARTHUR FA[illegible] ap2d2w* Carothers' A[illegible]

TO LOAN.

ON REAL ESTATE SECURITY, $200 [illegible] $800 and $900. Apply to WOOD[illegible] CONNELL, Brokers, cor. First and Washi[illegible]

A BARGAIN!

160 ACRES IN WASHINGTON COUN[illegible] miles west of Dilley's Station, o[illegible] No incumbrance. Title perfect. Price $[illegible] acre. Terms Cash. Apply to STEVENS [illegible] KER, Brokers, 7 First st., opp. Ladd's Ba[illegible] m29d3t

HOMESTEAD FOR SALE.

SUITABLE FOR A MARKET GARDE[illegible] 5 Acres, good House, young orchard, & from Portland, (in the south, close to [illegible] joining fees of charge.) Good supply of water to be had at a slight expense. P[illegible] terms easy. Apply to B. B. Tomlinson Portland, Oregon.

CITY LICENSES.

LICENSES FOR THE CURRENT [illegible]ter are now due and payment for must be made on or before 1 inst. at my office, 92 First street. Liquor dealers must have thei[illegible] approved before payment can be [illegible]

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Treasurer City of Port[illegible]
Portland, April 1, 1877.

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WARNER'S SAFE FOR SHEE[illegible]
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HARVEY W. SCOTT'S EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT WHEN RESUMING THE EDITORSHIP OF *THE OREGONIAN* IN 1877

who had sailed into the Strait of Fuca, and was completing his examination of Puget Sound. Later in the year Vancouver sailed for the bay of San Francisco, leaving his lieutenant, Broughton,[1] to examine the Columbia River. Broughton, in the *Chatham*, entered the river in November, 1792. Finding it difficult to ascend the river with his bark, he took his launch and made his way up one hundred miles. To the ultimate point he reached, he gave the name *Point Vancouver*.[2] All the way up and down he sprinkled names plentifully. Walker's Island was named for one of his men. To Tongue Point he gave the name it bears to this day. Young's River and Bay he called for Sir George Young,[3] of the British navy. To Gray's Bay he gave the name it bears as a compliment to the discoverer whose ship had lain in it some months before. When Broughton entered the river he found a small English vessel which had been up the coast to the northward on a trading voyage, and on its return southward had turned into the Columbia River. This vessel remained in the river till Broughton was ready to sail with his own brig, the *Chatham*. It was the bark *Jenny*, and its commander was Captain Baker. His name is perpetuated in Baker's Bay.[4] The *Chatham* and the *Jenny* went to sea together; and Baker, though disappearing then and there from history, has left his name to us forever.

The hibernation of the Lewis and Clark party at Fort Clatsop is a familiar story, especially since so many of our people have visited the spot and are perfectly acquainted with the surroundings. It is

[1] Lieutenant W. R. Broughton (1762–1821), afterwards captain in the British navy. His survey of Columbia River in 1792 and of the coast of Asia in 1794–98 made important additions to geographical knowledge. In 1804 he published *Voyage to the North Pacific Ocean*. For log of the *Chatham*, see Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. XVIII, pp. 238–43, by T. C. Elliott.

[2] Point Vancouver, on the Columbia River, named by Broughton, is now Cottonwood Point, southeast of Washougal, Washington. This point is the southern end of a neck of land extending southward from Washougal into the Columbia River. See Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. XVII, pp. 73–82, by T. C. Elliott, for identification of Point Vancouver. For note on the town, Vancouver, Washington, named and located in 1824 by the Hudson's Bay Company *Fort Vancouver*, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 287.

[3] Sir George Young (1732–1810) became an admiral of the British navy.

[4] *Haley's Bay* of Lewis and Clark; *Rogue's Harbor* of Patrick Gass.

known, of course, that the party first encamped on the north side;[1] but exposure to winter's winds caused them to seek a more sheltered position on the south side, to which they removed about one month after their arrival. From the journal of Captain Lewis we ascertain that rain sometimes fell here, even before there was an official weather bureau to gauge it. The country round about is very fully and accurately described in the journal. It is hoped that the site of Fort Clatsop may be acquired for the state.[2] Officers of the Oregon Historical Society have visited it, and some negotiation has been had concerning it. The spot where salt was made by evaporation of sea water for use during the winter and for the return journey, has been identified and inclosed. It is in Seaside Grove, between the Necanicum River and the ocean, and since identification the "salt cairn" may be seen by every one who visits Clatsop beach.[3]

Hitherto the journal of Lewis and Clark, with its descriptions of the country as it was then, of the Indians and their mode of life, has been too little studied by our people. It should be in all our libraries; knowledge of it is indispensable to any fair comprehension of the basis of our history. It should be studied as the *Anabasis* of the Western World. We are coming to the first centennial of this expedition and intend to celebrate it;[4] but we shall not know much about it unless we study the journal of Lewis and Clark. Oregon is under great obligations to the labors of the late Dr. Elliott Coues,[5] for his edition of 1893, with notes and commentary.

[1] The north side of the Columbia River.

[2] Acquired by the Oregon Historical Society in 1901. The site comprises three acres of land, three-fourths of a mile from Young's Bay, on Lewis and Clark River. For description of the place, see *The Oregonian*, June 27, 1885, p. 3. See Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 287. The Indian name of Lewis and Clark River was *Netul* (*ibid.*, December 21, 1884).

[3] Plans are in progress to erect a monument at this place overlooking the ocean beach. For description of the place in 1899, see *The Oregonian*, August 19, 1899, p. 8. For narrative of Lewis and Clark expedition to the salt cairn, by L. B. Cox, *ibid.*, June 17, 1900, p. 8.

[4] The Lewis and Clark Exposition was held at Portland in 1905. See Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 281.

[5] Dr Elliott Coues American naturalist, 1842–99; editor of Lewis and Clark journals, Alexander Henry and David Thompson journals, Zebulon M. Pike expeditions.

A first-rate authority for the condition of affairs at Astoria, from the arrival of the Astoria party in March, 1811, till abandonment of the enterprise in 1813, is Gabriel Franchère, whose book, written in French and published in Montreal in 1819, was translated into English and republished in New York in 1854.[1] Franchère, it is well known, came in the *Tonquin* [2] and remained in the country till Astor's partners sold out the business to agents of the British North West Company; when he returned home across the continent. It was a large party that left Astoria April 4, 1814. In all there were ninety persons who embarked in ten canoes. Franchère reached Montreal in September. His statements make it certain that the partners of Astor could have maintained their position in the country, had they possessed resolution and courage. Astoria was not, in fact, captured by the British, but was transferred under a business arrangement to agents of the North West Company. True, the British sloop of war *Raccoon*, of twenty-six guns, arrived at Astoria soon after the transfer had been made, and it would not have been possible to hold Astoria after that, even had the Americans desired. But Franchère says the Pacific Fur Company need not have retired from the country.[3]

It was only necessary [he explains] to get rid of the land party of the North West Company, who were completely in our power; then remove our effects up the river upon some small stream, and await results. The sloop of war arrived, it is true; but, as in the case I suppose she would have found nothing, she would have left after setting fire to our deserted houses. None of their boats would have dared to follow, even if the Indians had betrayed them to our lurking-place. But those at the head of affairs had

[1] Gabriel Franchère, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America*, New York, 1854; translated by J. V. Huntington. Franchère was born at Montreal in 1776; died at Saint Paul, Minnesota, April 12, 1863 (*The Oregonian*, May 22, 1863).

[2] The *Tonquin* entered the Columbia River, with the Astor sea party from New York, March 25, 1811; was destroyed at Clayoquot Sound, Vancouver Island, in June, 1811, and all the crew were killed through treachery of Indians. Its fate makes one of the most terrible and heroic tales of the Pacific Coast. For description of the place where the vessel was destroyed, see *The Oregonian*, April 17, 1887. For narrative of the tragedy, *ibid.*, April 23, 1887, p. 3.

[3] For narrative of the fur trade prior to 1811, see *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. VI, p. 340, by T. C. Elliott.

their own fortunes to seek, and thought it more for their interest, doubtless, to act as they did; but that will not clear them in the eyes of the world, and the charge of treason to Mr. Astor's interests will always be attached to their characters.[1]

A picture of "Astoria as it was in 1813," is the frontispiece of Franchère's book. It strikes one as a very accurate outline of what the site of Astoria may be supposed to have been at that day.

The principal in this betrayal of Mr. Astor's interests, as well as those of the United States, was Duncan McDougal,[2] who had left the North West Company, in 1810, to enter Astor's service.[3] He came out in the *Tonquin*, and soon after took to wife the daughter of old Comcomly, chief of the Clatsops. An amusing account of the unctuous and piscivorous nuptials is given in some of the chronicles of the time. There are features of the story better suited to private reading than to public recital. McDougal remained here till April, 1817, when he finally left Fort George and returned to Canada. In selling Mr. Astor out he seems to have been overborne by the superior tact and force of J. G. McTavish,[4] the principal agent of the North West Company. One of his associates in the Pacific Fur Company (Alexander Ross) says that McDougal was "a man of but ordinary capacity, with an irritable, peevish temper, the most unfit man in the world to head an expedition or to command men." [5] Another chronicle says that old Comcomly, after the transfer, "no longer prided himself upon his white son-in-law, but, whenever he was asked about him, shook his head and replied that his daughter had made a mistake; and, instead of getting a great warrior for a husband, had married herself to a squaw." [6] But we shall dwell here no further on the early social high life of Oregon.

[1] See Franchère's *Narrative*, pp. 203–04.

[2] For details of Duncan McDougal, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 287.

[3] There is much historical evidence for the view that while Astor's business at Astoria was badly managed, the sale to the North West Company was the best move that could be made, and that the buyers paid a fair price.

[4] John George McTavish, one of four McTavishes who were engaged at Astoria, or Fort George.

[5] See Alexander Ross's *First Settlers on the Columbia River*, p. 70.

[6] See Washington Irving's *Astoria*, end of chap. LX.

Other writers at first hand, besides Franchère, who have dealt with this early history, are Alexander Ross and Ross Cox,[1] both of the Pacific Fur Company or Astor party. Ross came in the *Tonquin*, Cox in the *Beaver*,[2] Astor's second vessel; Cox's book was published in London in 1831; that of Ross in London in 1855. Ross spent not less than fifteen years in the Columbia River region, after which he settled at Red River. Cox's book covers six years at Astoria, from 1811 to 1817. Both narratives have high value.

The same must be said of that portion of the journals of Alexander Henry,[3] which is devoted to the Lower Columbia country. By the painstaking annotations of Dr. Coues, these journals also have been made to possess an inestimable value to all who feel an interest in the early history of Oregon. Alexander Henry, of the English party, came to Astoria November 15, 1813. In his journal he has minutely described the conditions then existing here. He visited the Willamette country, of which he has given a description; in one way or another he mentions every man in the country at that time, and, moreover, he made a special catalogue of their names. His journal terminates abruptly, with an unfinished sentence, May 21, 1814. On the following day he was drowned in going from Fort George to the ship *Isaac Todd*, which was lying in the river below. Donald McTavish,[4] one of the old proprietors of the North West Company, and five boatmen, were drowned at the same time.

Incomparable among those who have contributed to the literature of this time is Irving; but the historical element in his *Astoria*

[1] Ross Cox was one of the clerks at Astoria, called the "Little Irishman." He remained on the Columbia River six years. Alexander Ross was a clerk of the Astor party at Astoria, and afterwards was long in the service of the North West Company. He wrote *First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River* and *Fur Hunters of the Far West.*

[2] The ship *Beaver* arrived at Astoria May 9, 1812.

[3] Alexander Henry, the younger, nephew of Alexander Henry, the elder, was a man of uncommon energy. His journal has been edited and published by Dr. Coues in one of the most valuable contributions to early history of the West. The journals cover a period of fifteen years of travel and exploration, between Lake Superior and the Pacific Ocean. He should not be confounded with Andrew Henry, the American, who attempted to establish a post at Fort Henry, on Snake River, in 1810.

[4] For biography of Donald McTavish, see vol. I, p. 288.

is overlaid on almost every page by the romantic. He is everywhere on the borderland of romance — when not wholly within its realm. But the art is of so high quality, simple and unobtrusive, that the reader scarcely suspects the narrative — which is true, indeed, in its outline, and apparently the perfection of truth, from the way it appeals to the imagination through the attractive dress in which it is presented. Irving's story is an epic of his tale of the journey of the overland party of the Astor expedition. An appreciative reviewer has said:

> No story of travel is more familiar to the public than the tale told by Irving of this adventure, because none is more readable as a tale founded on fact. The hardships and sufferings of the undisciplined mob that struggled across the country were terrible; some deserted, some went mad, some were drowned or murdered, and the survivors reached Astoria in pitiable plight, in separate parties, at different times. This was the second transcontinental expedition through the United States, having been preceded only by that of Lewis and Clark; but to this day no one knows exactly the route. Irving plies his golden pen elastically, and from it flow wit and humor, stirring scene and startling incident, character to the life; but he never tells us where these people went, perhaps for the simple reason that he never knew. He wafts us westward on his strong plume, and we look down upon those hapless Astorians; but we might as well be ballooning for aught we can make of this celebrated itinerary.

As to description of the route, this is a true criticism; but Irving has supplied the imagination with a truer picture of the hardships of the expedition, coming and going, than any diary written on the journey could have given us. Men who go through hardships can seldom describe them. Indeed, the most dreadful horrors that men suffer are little remembered.

The only descendant, so far as I know, of any member of the original Astor party now living in Oregon, is Colonel Crooks,[1] of Portland, who holds an official position in the Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company. His father, Ramsay Crooks,[2] came with the overland or Hunt party, and returned in the same way. Much of

[1] William Crooks was born at New York City in 1831; died at Portland December 17, 1907. His biography appears in *The Oregonian*, December 18, 1907.

[2] For biography of Ramsay Crooks, see vol. I, p. 288.

the journey, both ways, was made in winter, and the sufferings of the party from destitution, fatigue and cold were extreme. Ramsay Crooks and John Day [1] were separated for a time from their main party, were robbed by the Indians and stripped of their clothing, and as the weather was still wintry — it was early spring — they were saved only by simple good fortune. Perhaps we should say it is "one of those miraculous escapes." Some of their companions, whom they had not seen for a long time, and were not known by them to be in the vicinity, appeared, and they were rescued.

It has come to pass now, in the course of nature, that the citizens of longest residence in Oregon are those who were born here prior to 1840 — or perhaps I should say 1842. With the single exception of the venerable William Geiger,[2] of Forest Grove,[3] I know no survivor of the immigrants of American nativity who came previous to that year. But there is a man still living at Port Hill, in the Kootenai country, North Idaho, who saw Oregon before any other person now living saw it. This is David McLoughlin,[4] son of Dr. John McLoughlin,[5] and now over eighty years of age.

He was here, in his early boyhood, with his father, more than seventy years ago. I am permitted to read an extract from a letter written by him to a friend in Portland, only a few days since, which is very interesting. He says:

> Oregon was a fine country in my early days — a park on a large scale, that could not be surpassed even by artificial culture. It mattered not at what point immigrants or travelers entered this western shore of America — at each of its thresholds a scene of beauty awaited them. Before the Anglo-Saxon race penetrated the Rockies there was no civilization in the country that is worth mention. It was in its natural state of beauty, romantic and grand, with its endless prairies, streams and forests, and wild animals of all kinds for

[1] For biography of John Day, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. 1, p. 288.

[2] William Geiger, M.D., came to Oregon in 1839 from Illinois; born in Allegany County, New York; died at Forest Grove June 16, 1901; vol. 1, p. 288.

[3] For history of Forest Grove, see vol. 1, pp. 288–89.

[4] David McLoughlin was born at Fort William, Canada, in 1824; died at Port Hill, Kootenai County, Idaho, May 4, 1903. His biography appears in *The Oregonian*, May 24, 1903, p. 15; July 4, 1901, p. 10.

[5] Dr. John McLoughlin (1784–1857) was chief factor of Hudson's Bay Company at Vancouver, Washington, 1824–46; see vol. 1, pp. 294–95.

the use of man. Here and there, scattered throughout the country, snow-capped mountains were to be seen, enhancing the grandeur of its scenery.

The Rockies for many long years served as a barrier against the advance of civilization. This barrier was at last overcome by the immigrants seeking after a new country in the valleys of the far Columbia in 1835–49. But this is not the place to commemorate the trials and privations endured by the immigrants before they reached their final haven. From the banks of the Missouri to the western slopes of the Rocky Mountains, they struggled on with a constancy almost unparalleled in history.

The savage man, the savage beasts, hunger, thirst and disease — in fact, every kind of impediment which nature could place in their way — had all been overcome with Anglo-Saxon tenacity; yet the long journey and accumulations of terrors for their families had shaken the hearts of the stoutest among them.

It was between Walla Walla and Willamette valleys that the immigrants suffered most, on account of the rains and boisterous weather in the fall of the year. I believe there was not one but gave a heartfelt prayer of thanks when he saw the broad valley of the Willamette bathed in the sunlight beneath them, and learnt from others that this was the land of Ophir they sought, and that these virgin acres were to be theirs.

Therefore, the immigrants and pioneers of Oregon, men and women of the Anglo-Saxon race, who have given to the western shore of the continent its greatness, deserve the greatest praise, honor and reward for their valor and endurance in raising the Oregon region to its present rank of greatness in so short a time. It is marvelous. It surpasses imagination of man. It has grown to an empire state in wealth, population, culture and in trade, all in about sixty years.

They have cleared away the forests, bridged the streams, built cities, spanned the continent and crossed and recrossed and checkered it with highways of iron; they have planted orchards and vineyards upon side hills and in every valley within its borders. It is marvelous to contemplate the achievements and exploits of these people.

And to the missionary effort that preceded the general immigration, a debt is due that never should miss acknowledgment when the story of the acquisition and settlement of Oregon is recited. The missionary enterprise began with Jason Lee in 1834. Next came Samuel Parker in 1835. Whitman and Spalding,[1] with W. H.

[1] The Reverend H. H. Spalding died at Lapwai, Idaho, August 3, 1874. He was a Presbyterian missionary, and established a mission among the Nez Percés in 1836. His biography appears in Oregon Pioneer Association *Transactions* for 1897, p. 107; *The Oregonian*, July 15, 1894; October 26, 1870, p. 3, August 17, 1874, p. 2, May 5, 1877, p. 3, April 3, 1877, p. 3. The mission building was standing in 1836 (*The Oregonian*, June 13, 1861).

Gray,[1] followed in 1836. In 1838 came Walker[2] and Eells.[3] By 1840 there were in Oregon thirteen Methodist and six Congregational ministers, thirteen lay members of the Protestant missions, three Roman Catholic missionary priests, and a considerable number of Canadian settlers of the Roman Catholic faith. If the missionary effort did not succeed, as its authors hoped, in its direct purpose of helping the Indians to uplift and regeneration, it did succeed greatly in its secondary purpose, which the American missionaries ever kept in view, namely, in lending aid to the foundations of a commonwealth under the sovereignty of the United States. Long time there was disinclination to give the missionary work in Oregon the credit that justly was its due; for, after the rush of immigration began the missionary people were, so to speak, inundated by it, and what they had done was for a time overlooked. But going back, as now we must, to the study of our "origins" — and we shall do this more and more — we are compelled to recognition of the great work which the missionaries did. I do not say that Oregon would not have been held without them; but they were a powerful factor in holding it.

The story of the toilsome march of the wagon trains over the plains will be received by future generations almost as a legend on the borderland of myth, rather than as veritable history.[4] It will be accepted, indeed, but scarcely understood. Even now, to the survivors who made the journey, the realities of it seem half fabulous. It no longer has the appearance of a rational undertaking. Rapid transit of the present time seems almost to relegate the story to the land of fable. No longer can we understand the motives that urged

[1] William H. Gray was born at Fairfield, New York, September 8, 1809, and died at Portland, Oregon, November 14, 1889. He wrote *History of Oregon*, published in 1870. See vol. v, pp. 234–35.

[2] The Reverend Elkanah Walker was born at North Yarmouth, Maine, and died at Forest Grove, Oregon, November 21, 1877. See obituary by Dr. George H. Atkinson, *The Oregonian*, December 1, 1877, p. 2; biography and portrait, *ibid.*, September 4, 1899, p. 3. See Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 289.

[3] The Reverend Cushing Eells was born at Blandford, Massachusetts, February 16, 1810, and died February 16, 1893. See Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, pp. 289–90.

[4] Mr. Scott "crossed the plains" in 1852, at the age of fourteen years.

our pioneers toward the indefinite horizon that seemed to verge on the unknown. Looking back at the movement now, a mystery appears in it. It was the final effort of that profound impulse which, from a time far preceding the dawn of history, has pushed the race to which we belong to discovery and occupation of Western lands.

Discovery of Gray's Harbor and Columbia River by Captain Gray

(*The Oregonian*, April 10, 1892)

Citizens of Aberdeen, Hoquiam and Ocosta are preparing to celebrate the centennial of the discovery of Gray's Harbor.[1] While not of the historical significance and national importance of the discovery of the Columbia River, and not drawing in its train such a series of momentous events, it was prior in date and bears the name of its discoverer — the very man who first carried the American flag into the waters of the Columbia River and laid the foundation of the claim the United States successfully made to the ownership of the vast Oregon Country.

Gray's Harbor was the first real harbor between San Francisco and the Strait of Fuca entered by a vessel of any nation. Spanish, English, American and French vessels had sailed along the coast, but, save the open roadstead of Trinidad in California, not one had found a harbor, nor is it recorded that a white man, prior to that time, had set foot on the soil now comprising the states of Oregon and Washington. Captain James Cook[2] had sailed up the coast looking for the river Oregon, for the Straits of Anian — as the Strait of Fuca was called when its existence was simply presumed from Lock's narrative of the questionable voyage of Juan de Fuca and Maldonado's[3] romance; and for the River of Kings,

[1] This celebration took place May 7, 1892. See *The Oregonian* of May 12, 1892. The Columbia River celebration took place May 11, 1892. See *The Oregonian* of May 12, 1892.

[2] Captain James Cook discovered and named Cape Flattery in 1778, but denied existence of the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

[3] Maldonado, Portuguese navigator. His fabled voyage through the Strait of Anian took place in 1588.

graphically described by James Petiver [1] in a fictitious account of a voyage by Admiral Fonte [2] — and had found none of them. Spanish explorers had sailed up and down and had found nothing, or entered nothing until 1790, when Quimper [3] sailed into the Strait of Fuca, whose entrance Barkley and Meares had discovered in 1787 and 1788. Meares himself had sailed along the coast searching for the river Oregon in vain, and, only a few days before, Gray entered the harbor, on his way south to the Columbia. Vancouver had passed by both places and entered on his log his firm conviction that neither a river nor a harbor existed in this region. His attempts to enter Willapa Bay [4] had failed.

It was on April 29, 1792, that Captain Robert Gray, in the American fur-trading vessel *Columbia*, sailing south to trade and to endeavor to enter the unknown river, now called *Columbia*, which he had sought in vain for nine days to enter the year before,[5] met Captain George Vancouver, the English Nootka convention commissioner, with the *Discovery* and *Chatham*, but a few miles south of Cape Flattery. The two commanders exchanged courtesies, and Gray told Vancouver he was on his way to prove the existence of a large river, while Vancouver told Gray he had just satisfied himself there was no such stream. When they parted company Vancouver entered the Strait of Fuca and Gray continued his voyage down the coast. On May 7 he entered the harbor recorded by him as being in latitude 46° 58′, which he christened Bulfinch Harbor,[6] in honor of one of the owners of his vessel. There he remained three days, during which time he was attacked by the Indians, whom he repulsed with some loss to the assailants. On

[1] James Petiver, English naturalist (1663–1718).

[2] Fonte, Spanish admiral. His fabled voyage from the Pacific to the Atlantic was in 1640.

[3] Alferez Manuel Quimper, Spanish navigator. He explored the Strait of Juan de Fuca in 1790. He named Haro Strait. See pp. 145–46, preceding.

[4] Or, *Shoalwater Bay*, from *Cape Shoalwater*, named by Meares.

[5] Gray spent those nine days trying to enter the river in the year 1791, when he was sailing north to Nootka Sound.

[6] Charles Bulfinch, of Boston, was the owner referred to. The Cook voyage had convinced the Boston owners of the vessel that a rich harvest could be gathered in the fur trade. See this volume, p. 290.

May 10 he sailed out, and the next day crossed the Columbia River bar. Five months later, Vancouver, having again met Gray, and having been supplied by him with a chart of the Columbia's mouth and Bullfinch Harbor, sailed south from Nootka to explore them. On October 18 the *Dædalus*, the small supply ship of the English expedition, commanded by Lieutenant Whidbey, whose name is perpetuated in the large island in Puget Sound, entered Bullfinch Harbor and remained for several days, while the *Discovery* and *Chatham* continued south.[1] Vancouver entered the name on his chart as Gray's Harbor, in honor of the discoverer, an unusual and unexpected courtesy on his part; and as his charts were used for making the official British maps, and Gray's charts were not so used in America, the name of Bullfinch, though the first, was soon superseded by the one it now bears.

The discovery and entry of Gray's Harbor did not constitute any foundation for claiming title to this region. Harbors had been discovered and explored farther north by the representatives of several nations, and the coast line of Oregon and Washington had been observed and charted and its capes and headlands named. There was nothing in the mere first entry into a small harbor, on a coast that had been previously charted, that could constitute color of title to the adjacent country. Discovery of the Columbia River, however, was quite another matter; for this was not a mere opening in the coast, but a great, navigable stream, draining the entire country, an area of more than a quarter million square miles; and, by the custom of nations, the discoverer of a great river gives his country foundation for a claim of proprietary rights to the entire region drained by it. This is the difference in the importance of the two discoveries made by Gray within a period of four days. Nevertheless, Gray's Harbor was the first one on our coast to be entered by a vessel of any nation, bears the name of the man whose discovery gave to the United States its strongest title, and is rapidly becoming a port of great commercial importance. The citizens of

[1] For Whidbey's narrative of Gray's Harbor, see Vancouver's *Voyage of Discovery*, vol. III, chap. IV.

the young cities growing up on its shores may well celebrate the centennial of its discovery and christening.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition — A Great Episode in National Expansion

(*Lewis and Clark Journal*, January, 1904. A publication of the Lewis and Clark Exposition)

The Lewis and Clark expedition preceded, by more than forty years, the acquisition of California, to which it was a contributory cause. It pushed our national boundary line to the shores of the Pacific, and gave us the territory between the forty-second and forty-ninth degrees of north latitude, from the summit of the Rocky Mountains to the Great Western Ocean.

Thus it completed the extension of the United States across the continent and gave us our outlook toward the Orient. The basis of our Pacific Empire was thus acquired, and the great accretions to it from Mexico and from Russia have been logical consequences.

It laid the basis for movement of one of the great dramas of history. To the migration of the races of the North, to their conquests as they have advanced, and to the introduction of the ideas of government with liberty, effected by their progress in so many parts of the world, the growth of modern civilization is chiefly due. Of this movement, the United States is the greatest single product or result; and a part of this movement is epitomized in the expedition of Lewis and Clark across the continent of America to the Pacific Ocean. This expedition was a beginning which, though made less than one hundred years ago, now has given us a shore line on the Pacific much longer than that on the Atlantic. It has led to the occupation and development of the vast Western region of the American continent. It has faced the United States toward the West, over the Pacific. Hitherto we have faced only toward the East, over the Atlantic. It has given the Pacific Northwest a position whence we shall take leading place in the commerce of the Orient. Though it was not among the events that led up directly to the acquisition of the Philippine Islands, it secures the position

we have gained there through another course of events. Thus the expedition of Lewis and Clark, though as humble an undertaking as the settlement at Plymouth or Jamestown, was the prologue to the theme of our later national expansion.

Before American expansion had spread beyond the Rocky Mountains, Coleridge, great among greatest names in our literature, said:

> The possible destiny of the United States of America as a Nation of one hundred millions of freemen, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, living under the laws of Alfred and speaking the language of Shakespeare and Milton, is an august conception.[1]

It is a conception now practically realized. The hundredth anniversary of the expedition of Lewis and Clark across the continent to the Pacific, that *Anabasis* of the Western World, now about to be celebrated and commemorated here, will mark the fulfillment of the august conception, and we trust will awaken the interest and enlist the attention, not only of our own country, but in no small degree of the world at large.

The Astoria Settlement of 1811 Vital to the Oregon Claims of the United States

(*The Oregonian*, December 17, 1893)

The Chamber of Commerce has selected March 22 for Oregon Day, at the midwinter fair [2] at San Francisco. This will be the eighty-third anniversary of the first American settlement on the Pacific Coast. On that day, in 1811, the Astor party arrived off the mouth of the Columbia River in the ill-fated *Tonquin*. Better than any other day that could be selected during the continuance of the fair, it marks a distinct epoch in the history of the state. The settlement at Astoria was one of the strongest links in the chain of title successfully asserted by the United States in its controversy with Great Britain about the ownership of Oregon. But for that, the Canadian boundary would to-day be the present northern line

[1] For the full quotation of Coleridge, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 290.

[2] This was the California Midwinter International Exposition, January 27 to July 4, 1894.

of California, and California itself might have come under the royal standard instead of the stars and stripes.

March 22, 1811, was not, as has been enthusiastically asserted, the day when the foot of the first American was planted upon the soil of Oregon, but it was the day when the first settlement was instituted. The Columbia was discovered by Gray in 1792, and, from that date until the Astoria settlement, American fur traders entered the river yearly and traded with the natives. It was in these trading negotiations that the unique Chinook jargon[1] originated, the Chinooks[2] being a tribe of Indians living on the north bank of the river, at its mouth. Opposite, on the south bank, were the Clatsops, after whom Lewis and Clark named the fort they occupied during the winter of 1804–05, after their overland journey from the Mississippi. Besides the traders spoken of and the members of this famous government exploring expedition, still other Americans visited Oregon before the Astor party. In 1810 a party of traders, headed by Nathan Winship,[3] established a fort on the south bank of the river, at Oak Point, about forty miles inland, but abandoned it in a few weeks. The next Americans to arrive were the Astor party, and, as they established a permanent settlement, it is fitting that the date of their arrival be celebrated as the era from which Oregon's civilization shall date.

John Jacob Astor, a wealthy fur trader of New York and grandfather of the present generation of Astors, organized the Pacific Fur Company, in 1810, for the purpose of controlling the fur business on the Pacific Coast, which at that time was conducted by

[1] This jargon is a medium of speech between the whites and the Indians and between the Indians themselves. It is a trade language, being a compound of Indian, English and French, that sprang out of the necessities of simple communication. See Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 290.

[2] For the name *Chinook*, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 291.

[3] Captain Nathan Winship, of Brighton, Massachusetts, arrived off the mouth of Columbia River May 25, 1810, in the *Albatross*. He sailed from Columbia River July 18, 1810. The Winship enterprise was abandoned on account of hostile Indians and flood. For description of the site of this venture, see *The Oregonian*, December 30, 1868, p. 3; for narrative of the venture, *ibid.*, December 29, 1868, p. 3; March 6, 1872, p. 1. Oak Point, on the Oregon side of Columbia River, was below Rainier, Oregon.

independent traders. The *Tonquin* sailed on August 2, and arrived off the Columbia bar March 22, 1811. The weather was stormy and the breakers were rough on the bar, and two boatloads of sailors were lost while exploring for the channel. After two days of fruitless effort the vessel succeeded in crossing and coming to anchor in the quiet waters of the estuary. Three weeks later, on April 12, the party began the erection of a fort on the hills just back of Point Adams, and bestowed upon it the name "Astoria," in honor of the originator and chief owner of the enterprise. This was the first permanent planting of the American foot upon the soil of Oregon; and though the old fort long since has disappeared, it has a worthy successor in the enterprising commercial city of the same name. A party also went overland, arriving at the fort in February, 1812, after almost incredible hardships.[1]

For a year all went well, but war was declared between England and the United States, and the English vessel *Raccoon* appeared on December 12, 1813, took possession of the fort and rechristened it "Fort George," the title of the property having been sold to the North West Company, a Canadian fur company. Thus matters stood until the end of the war; and, though a formal surrender of the fort was then made to the United States, Mr. Astor never regained possession of his property.[2] However, the dispute about the title to Oregon attracted attention to it, and both missionaries and settlers found their way across the mountains, so that when the disputed ownership was settled, in 1846, not less than 8000 Americans were living here, legitimate successors of that little party that arrived off the Columbia River March 22, 1811.

Oregon a Sequence of Henry Hudson

(*The Oregonian*, March 29, 1909)

New York will take note of its third centenary in September next, yet will not employ the common expedient of an exposition, or

[1] This party was led by Wilson Price Hunt. For narrative, see Irving's *Astoria*.

[2] Fort George was technically restored to the United States October 6, 1818, but continued to be a British post. Americans revived *Astoria* many years later.

world's fair. But there will be a celebration, under literary and historical auspices, which will fix for a day the attention of the world.

To one now viewing New York, it appears incredible that it is but three centuries since Henry Hudson, the English explorer, on his third voyage under the patronage of Dutch merchants, entered the harbor of New York, and dropped anchor not far from the spot where the Goddess of Liberty stands to-day. Such changes have been wrought nowhere else in the world, within any three centuries, since the appearance of man upon the earth. Moreover, the greater part of this stupendous change has taken place in much less than one hundred years. The next marvel in comparison with it has been the rise of the city of Chicago.

New York needs no exposition. It is an exposition itself, the year round, and from year to year, and would be, in fact, belittled by any formal attempt to celebrate its greatness.

The original meaning of the word "celebrate" is a close signification and description of New York's daily existence. It means (of people) to assemble in a crowd, to press together in great numbers or multitudes, to frequent a place in crowds for a purpose, etc. Everybody goes to New York.

Upon his fourth voyage, in the year following the discovery of the river that bears his name, and his observation of the site of the present city of New York — that is, in the year 1610 — this time under direction of promoters and traders of his own country (Englishmen), Hudson, making the first serious effort of the long search by a northwestern passage for the Great Western Ocean, entered the vast inland sea that will forever carry his name — Hudson's Bay. Sure he was that he had reached the Pacific; but his crew could neither be persuaded nor commanded to make further effort, so he was set adrift in an open boat, with a few others, upon an icy sea. Of this boat or its occupants no relics ever were found. Two, only, of the mutinous crew reached England, where, somehow, they escaped hanging. But their tale was told and other voyagers sailed at intervals of years into Hudson's Bay — without

actual results, however, till, in 1688, an expedition was promoted that led to the foundation of the Hudson's Bay Company, which so long controlled the fortunes and finally directed the destinies of the northern half of the continent of North America, and has left its influence stamped upon our Pacific Northwest states.

The charter was granted in 1670 by Charles II, to a company described as "Gentlemen Adventurers Trading to Hudson's Bay." It gave them not only a monopoly of trade and profits for all time, but territorial jurisdiction and practical sovereignty over a vast northern empire, stretching indefinitely from Hudson's Bay to the west. It became an immense feudatory estate, the greatest, with perhaps the exception of India, ever known in the history of the world. The French, indeed, were on the Saint Lawrence River, and New France was held by them for nearly a century longer; and the conflict between the English and French over territorial and trading rights continued till the final absorption of French interests by the Hudson's Bay Company, many years later.

English explorers were much ahead of the French in pushing on to the Far West. Alexander Mackenzie was the first man to reach the Pacific Ocean, overland, north of the country claimed by Spain. This was in the year 1793. Simon Fraser,[1] David Thompson[2] and others soon followed; but, before Mackenzie had reached the coast, Captain Gray had entered the Columbia River and laid the foundation of our country's claim to the territory of the great Western River. It was not Mackenzie's fortune to see the Columbia River, or any tributary of it. He passed to the north of its drainage basin in the region of the river later designated the Fraser. Mackenzie could not have supposed, when he reached the Fraser River, that he was on the Columbia; for at that time he knew nothing about the Western rivers. He had only a common surmise and various vague rumors that there was a great River of the West discharging into the Pacific. The streams Mackenzie met with on the western slope proved to be those of the Fraser, not those of the

[1] For note on Simon Fraser, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. 1, p. 291.

[2] For note on David Thompson, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. 1, pp. 291–92.

greater river, the Columbia, which had been entered by Captain Gray in 1792.

In an address, delivered last December, at the annual meeting of the Oregon Historical Society, Mr. Frederick V. Holman, its president, gave a very full account of Mackenzie's Pacific explorations and their results.[1] They relate wholly to the Fraser River and to Mackenzie's journey westward from that river to the ocean. Mackenzie cannot be said to have supposed that, when he reached the stream since named for its next explorer, Simon Fraser, he was on the Columbia, for nothing was known to him of either of these rivers — nothing more than a geographic postulate or conjecture, supported or encouraged by stories alleged to have been told by the Indians and exploited by Carver and others.[2] After the discovery of the Columbia at its mouth, and after the expedition of Lewis and Clark,[3] some years still were required to ascertain the sources of the Columbia and to gain even a tolerable comprehension of the intricacies of the river system of the region, whose tortuosities are scarcely equaled elsewhere in the world.

Lewis and Clark came in 1805; Astor's expedition in 1810–11; so the Americans, by good fortune, were in the country when the English, coming overland, reached the Columbia River. Thompson came down the river from the Rocky Mountains, reaching Astoria in July, 1811, three months after the arrival of Astor's people. The War of 1812 followed; Astor was sold out to his rivals in the fur trade, and Astoria was captured by a British war vessel. It was nearly twenty years later that American missionaries, pioneers, traders and other adventurers began to pour in, overland. Till their coming the Hudson's Bay Company, having absorbed the North West Company, its rival,[4] was supreme in the country, and

[1] See the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. x, no. 2, pp. 1–15, June, 1909.

[2] Jonathan Carver, of Connecticut, explored the region of the Upper Mississippi in 1766–68.

[3] In 1804–06.

[4] The Hudson's Bay Company absorbed the North West Company in 1821. See Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 292.

not a few of the effects of its presence and domination are visible to this day in Oregon, Washington and Idaho.

This sketch started with the discovery of the harbor of New York by Henry Hudson, three centuries ago; and through his later explorations, in the search northward for the Great Western Sea, the story is connected with the Pacific Coast and with our own Northwest states. Thus, throughout all the lives of men and of nations, "one event," as an ancient sage remarked, "is the son of another." Our people would be here now, indeed, had the English and French explorers and fur traders never come; but their coming, and the rivalry that resulted from it, make up the most interesting of the episodes of our early history, and the consequences remain with us in influences exerted by the rival parties on the development, the life and the character of the country.

This, for the present, is sufficient digression from celebration of the discovery of New York harbor and Hudson River by the navigator, three centuries ago. And yet, the narrative of the life and work of Henry Hudson, with the results of his work down to our day, including our own distant connection here on the Pacific with the stream of the history starting from him, makes a series of episodes of highest interest to our people, and is worth exposition to the young by the teachers in our schools.

Bonneville's Explorations in 1832–35

(*The Oregonian*, June 19, 1878)

Benjamin L. E. Bonneville, the Captain Bonneville of Irving's celebrated story, and the oldest officer of the United States Army, died at Fort Smith, Arkansas, on June 13. He was born in France in 1795, graduated at West Point in 1815, fought through the Mexican War, was made colonel of the Third Infantry in 1855, retired from active service in 1861, and was made brevet brigadier-general in 1865. His principal celebrity was acquired through the prominence given him by Washington Irving, who digested and published his account of adventures in the Rocky Mountains and the then Far West; and it is this expedition and the history of it

which mainly interest readers here in the personality of Captain Bonneville.[1]

Irving's introduction to the adventures gives an account of Bonneville which, of course, everybody has read. How he conceived the idea of the journey to the distant West, obtained leave of absence of the war department, was aided by an association in New York with funds to carry his proposed measure into effect, was long absent and supposed to be dead, and finally returned, after the lapse of three years, to find himself given up for lost and his name stricken from the army list, is written down in Irving's introduction, and is familiar to all who have taken an interest in reading the history of early expeditions to Oregon and California.

On May 1, 1832, Bonneville took his departure from Fort Osage on the Missouri River. He had a party of about one hundred and ten men, most of whom had been in the Indian country, and some of whom were experienced hunters and trappers. Descriptions of the country traversed by the party, and the history of their adventures, are inimitable. Our school readers teemed with extracts more than thirty years ago. After passing the Rocky Mountains the party went northward, striking the tributaries of the Columbia River. Winter quarters were prepared on Salmon River.[2] The Nez Percés were very friendly; finding their visitors in want, they offered to share with them their own meager store, and their generosity won the heart of Bonneville and produced the most cordial good will on the part of his men.

After a winter spent in that region, Bonneville turned off toward Green River and made some explorations of the Salt Lake country. He then passed on through to California, visited San Francisco Bay, and, in prophetic words, spoke of it as a port of future commercial empire. Returning, another trip was made to the waters of the Columbia. It was the intention to descend to the Willam-

[1] *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, by Washington Irving, published in 1837.

[2] A tributary of Snake River in Idaho. The earliest mention of the name *Salmon River* is probably in the journals of Peter Skene Ogden. See *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. I, pp. 113–21; Oregon *Quarterly*, vol. XI, p. 366.

ette. Scouts were sent out, we are told, to look for a convenient pass, but after twenty days they returned, weary and discouraged. The party turned back from Grande Ronde,[1] and, after their three years' travel in the wilderness, reached the frontier settlements, on the Missouri, in August, 1835. It was Bonneville's good fortune on his return to meet Irving, to whom he was introduced by John Jacob Astor; and this author, then in the height of his literary fame, took the adventurous captain's materials and made that charming book, which is still read as widely as any book of American adventure ever written.[2]

[1] For note on Grande Ronde, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 292.
[2] For note on Benjamin Eulalie de Bonneville, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 297.

CHAPTER IV

THE OREGON TITLE

Claims to Oregon Won from the British

(*The Oregonian*, December 15, 1886)

Mr. Rufus Blanchard, in an article in the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, questions the correctness of the position taken by numerous historians and geographers, that Washington, Oregon and Idaho were acquired through the Louisiana purchase. He undertakes to show that the title of the United States to the Pacific Coast territory came not through the Louisiana purchase, but by right of discovery and exploration. Mr. Blaine, in his *Twenty Years of Congress*, says:

> The Louisiana purchase did not extend beyond the main range of the Rocky Mountains, and our title to that large area, which is included in the state of Oregon and the territories of Washington and Idaho, rests upon a different foundation, or, rather, upon a series of claims, each of which was strong under the law of nations. We claimed it, first, by right of original discovery of the Columbia River by an American navigator in 1792; second, by original exploration in 1805; third, by original settlement in 1811, by the company of which John Jacob Astor was the head; and, lastly and principally, by the transfer of the Spanish title in 1819, many years after the Louisiana purchase was accomplished.[1]

Mr. Blanchard does not allow so much weight to the Spanish title as Mr. Blaine gives it. He holds that the Spanish claims to the Pacific Coast, north of 42 degrees, which rested on the voyages of their early mariners who sailed along the coast, were too shadowy to hold their ground against the definite discoveries of Captain Robert Gray, of the ship *Columbia*, followed by those of the expedition of Lewis and Clark; that we neither got any title nor claimed any title through the Louisiana purchase. Mr. Blanchard thinks it should be deemed unquestionable, since, when the boundary dispute came up between Great Britain and the United States,

[1] See Blaine's *Twenty Years of Congress*, vol. I, p. 8.

American rights were claimed to have their foundation solely in priority of discovery by Americans. But H. H. Bancroft, in his *History of the Northwest Coast*, thinks "there can be no doubt that the explorations of 1774–75 gave to Spain as valid a title as mere discovery could give to all the Northwest coast." [1] This, however, was disputed both by England and France, England claiming under discoveries reported by Captain James Cook [2] in 1778, and France under discoveries by La Perouse [3] in 1786. In 1789 Spain met these claims by sending an expedition to Nootka Sound to erect a fort. England remonstrated and so did France. In his recent *History of the French Revolution*, Henry Morse Stephens shows that the remonstrance on the part of France was one of the exciting incidents of the first stage of the great revolutionary movement in that country, and that war between France and Spain, in consequence of the Spanish action at Nootka, was at one time a probable consequence. But, in the increasing excitement of the Revolution, the matter was soon forgotten by the French. The English, however, persisted, and Spain found it necessary to consent, in 1790, that the whole coast above San Francisco should be free to both nations for trade, navigation and settlement. But neither of the nations immediately made any effort in this direction, and two years later Captain Gray's ship entered the Columbia River and the United States began to claim, by right of discovery and exploration, a country which neither of the former claimants had actually explored, and where certainly they had maintained no settlements.

Nominally, indeed, by the treaty of 1819, we did get a title from Spain; but the Spanish title, by the public admission of that country in its treaty with Great Britain, was nothing better than the right of joint occupancy with the English, and, therefore, it settled

[1] See vol. II, p. 318, *History of the Northwest Coast.*

[2] Captain James Cook (1728–79) was killed at Hawaii on his return voyage. For his place in Pacific Northwest history, see *Washington Quarterly*, vol. I, pp. 113–21.

[3] Jean François de Galaup de la Perouse, French navigator (1741–88). He was lost, with ship and crew, in 1788, after exploration of the North Pacific. The record of the early part of his voyage was preserved in his journals, which he had sent to France.

nothing. It simply eliminated the Spanish claim from the controversy. It would seem, then, that Mr. Blaine was in error in tracing our title chiefly to Spain, as are those also who trace it to the Louisiana purchase. We contested the title with Great Britain on the rights of discovery, exploration and occupancy, and finally settled the controversy by a compromise on the forty-ninth parallel.

Oregon not Part of Louisiana

(*The Oregonian*, February 18, 1885)

In the ninth census report a map was published which represented the province of Louisiana, commonly known as the Louisiana purchase, acquired from France in 1803, as stretching from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean.[1] Several compilers of school history adopted that map, and thus have been teaching that Oregon was included in the territory covered by the Louisiana purchase. General Francis A. Walker, superintendent of the census, has since explained that the reason for embracing Oregon in this territory, "or rather for allowing the map which S. W. Stocking had prepared to go into the work without correction in this particular, was that the United States Government had made claim to Oregon by virtue of the Louisiana purchase." The current popular view in this state has coincided with the census map. But the view is evidently erroneous. Dr. John J. Anderson, the author of several school histories, has published a pamphlet correcting the error, and setting forth, in a concise but comprehensive form, the grounds of our title to Oregon.[2]

It was distinctly asserted by Marbois, Napoleon's minister of the treasury and the negotiator of the treaty, for Napoleon, by which our Government acquired Louisiana, that the French never

[1] Census of 1870, volume I.

[2] The pamphlet was entitled, *Did the Louisiana Purchase Extend to the Pacific Ocean?* — eight pages, Clark and Maynard, New York. The Government error was corrected in 1898 by Binger Hermann, commissioner of the General Land Office, who published a *Review* of the Louisiana purchase. General Walker afterwards admitted the error, saying in a letter: "I am free to confess that my individual views do not coincide therewith." See Binger Hermann's *Review*, p. 76; Dr. Anderson's pamphlet, p. 1.

owned any part of North America west of the Rocky Mountains. It is plain that France could not sell to the United States in 1803 more than it recovered from Spain in 1800. In our negotiations with Spain, commenced in Madrid in 1804, for the adjustment of the lines which were to separate the territories of the two governments, Spain contended, as Greenhow, in his *History of Oregon and California*, says:

> The Louisiana ceded to Spain by France in 1762 and returned to France in 1800, and transferred by the latter power to the United States in 1803, could not, in justice, be considered as comprising more than New Orleans, with the tract in its vicinity east of the Mississippi, and the country immediately bordering on the west bank of that river.[1]

And in 1818, up to the close of the long-pending negotiations, the Spanish minister at Washington reiterated this declaration.[2] In a letter to a map publisher, written in 1816, Jefferson said:

> The western boundary of Louisiana is, rightfully, the Rio Bravo [Rio Grande del Norte] from its mouth to its source, and thence along the highlands and mountains dividing the waters of the Mississippi from those of the Pacific. . . . On the waters of the Pacific we can found no claim in right of Louisiana.[3]

"The shores of the Western ocean," says Marbois, "were certainly not included in the cession of Louisiana to the United States."[4] In this conclusion — that no part of the territory west of the Rocky Mountains came to us by reason of the Louisiana purchase — Dr. Anderson says all the best authorities agree.

Accepting this conclusion, he proceeds to show how we came into possession of this territory. The first element in the title of the United States to Oregon was the discovery of the Columbia River and its exploration by Captain Robert Gray in 1792. From that time, or a period four or five years later, the direct trade between the Northwest coast of North America and China was almost en-

[1] *History of Oregon and California*, chap. XIV, p. 280.

[2] Hildreth's *History of the United States*, vol. VI, p. 647.

[3] Letter to John Melish. See *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. VII, p. 51, Washington edition; Binger Hermann's *Review* of the Louisiana purchase.

[4] Marbois' *History of Louisiana*, p. 286. Marbois was especially friendly to the United States.

tirely in the hands of the Americans. The second element in our title was the exploration of this region by Lewis and Clark, which, as Greenhow says, "was an announcement to the world of the intention of the American Government to occupy and settle the countries explored, to which certainly no other nation, except Spain, could advance so strong a claim on the ground of discovery or contiguity." [1] The third was the Astor settlement, which has been admitted by all parties to have been the first in all the Oregon region.

And this, against Great Britain, completed and made perfect the United States' title to the Oregon region, on the principle laid down by Jefferson in his letter to Mr. Melish,[2] "that when a civilized nation takes possession of the mouth of a river in a new country, that possession is considered as including all its waters." The final element in the United States' title to the Oregon region was the cession made by Spain, in the Florida treaty of 1819, of all rights, claims and pretensions to any territory on the Pacific Coast north of the forty-second parallel. In thus defining the grounds of our title to Oregon, Dr. Anderson exactly follows John Quincy Adams, who wrote to Richard Rush, our envoy to Great Britain in 1823, saying:

> The right of the United States to the Columbia River, and to the interior territory washed by its waters, rests upon its discovery from the sea and nomination by a citizen of the United States; upon its exploration to the sea by Captains Lewis and Clark; upon the settlement of Astoria, made under the protection of the United States and thus restored to them in 1818, and upon the subsequent acquisition of all the rights of Spain.[3]

Albert Gallatin, also, in his able and exhaustive discussion of the subject during the controversy between the United States and Great

[1] *History of Oregon and California*, chap. XIII, p. 288.

[2] John Melish, traveler and author, born in Scotland, 1771; died at Philadelphia, 1822. Jefferson's letter to Mr. Melish, from Monticello, December 31, 1816, said: "On the waters of the Pacific we can found no claim on right of Louisiana. If we claim that country at all, it must be on Astor's settlement near the mouth of the Columbia, and the principle of the *jus gentium* of America, that when a civilized nation takes possession of the mouth of a river in a new country, that possession is considered as including all its waters." This letter is a continuation of that quoted on page 176, preceding.

[3] Mr. Adams wrote this letter, as secretary of state, to Mr. Rush, minister to England. The letter was dated July 22, 1823. It appears in *Doc.* 417, vol. V, pp. 790–93; also quoted in Marshall's *Acquisition of Oregon*, vol. I, p. 164.

Britain, respecting the sovereignty of the Oregon region, shows that our title to Oregon came to us through discoveries, exploration and occupation.

Dr. Anderson is correct in his conclusion that Oregon was no part of the Louisiana purchase. But he fails to show the relation which that purchase sustained to our possession of Oregon. This point, however, is made very clear by James G. Blaine in *Twenty Years of Congress*. In speaking of the importance and value of the Louisiana purchase, the largest conquest of territory ever peacefully achieved, Mr. Blaine says that the Oregon Country was not included in the transfer.[1]

The Louisiana purchase did not extend beyond the main range of the Rocky Mountains, and our title to that large territory, which is included in the state of Oregon and in the territories of Washington and Idaho, rests upon a different foundation, or, rather, upon a series of claims, each of which was strong under the law of nations. We claimed it, first, by right of original discovery of the Columbia River by an American navigator in 1792; second, by original exploration in 1805; third, by original settlement, in 1811, by the enterprising company of which John Jacob Astor was the head; and, lastly, by the transfer of the Spanish title in 1819, many years after the Louisiana purchase was accomplished. It is not, however, probable that we should have been able to maintain our title to Oregon if we had not secured the intervening country. It was certainly our purchase of Louisiana that enabled us to secure the shores of the Pacific.

Oregon and Louisiana Separately Acquired

(*The Oregonian*, January 9, 1902)

Our friends at Saint Louis, who are laying all forces within their reach under contribution for support of the Louisiana purchase centennial,[2] are making remonstrance against the statement and even against the proof that the Oregon Country was not included within the Louisiana purchase. Evidently they think to make their centenary celebration a greater event, or more attractive to the

[1] See page 173, preceding. [2] Held at Saint Louis in 1904.

imagination, by insisting that, through the acquisition of Louisiana, the first footing of the United States was gained on the Pacific Ocean. And yet the contention is entirely erroneous. The Oregon Country was not included in the Louisiana purchase. Yet the notion that it was so acquired persists in an unaccountable way. They who hold the error and propagate it do not care to study the historical facts.

When the United States acquired the Louisiana country, the boundaries of it were not clearly defined. But it was certain that the purchase extended no further west than the summit of the Rocky Mountains. France and Spain, alternate possessors of Louisiana, had never attempted exact definitions of the boundaries of the great territory. France, first proprietor, through the expeditions and discoveries of La Salle, ceded the country to Spain in 1762. Spain ceded it back to France in October, 1800. Both France and Spain clearly understood that Louisiana extended on the west to the Rio Grande, but the eastern and a part of the northern and northwestern boundary remained undetermined because little was known of the country. When France, in 1803, ceded the territory to the United States, this indefiniteness had not been cleared up. Robert R. Livingston, acting for the United States, asked Talleyrand, negotiator for France: "What are the eastern bounds of Louisiana?" Talleyrand replied: "I do not know. You must take it as we received it."[1] In 1802, after France received the country back from Spain, the French naval minister, Duc Denis Decres, in giving instructions as to taking possession, said:

> The extent of Louisiana is well determined in the south by the Gulf of Mexico. But, bounded on the west by the river called the Rio Bravo, from its mouth to the thirtieth parallel, the line of demarcation stops after reaching this point, and there seems never to have been any agreement in regard to this part of the frontier. The farther we go northward the more uncertain is the boundary. This part of America contains little more than uninhabited forests or Indian tribes, and the necessity of fixing a boundary has never yet been felt there.[2]

[1] See Binger Hermann's *Review* of the Louisiana purchase, p. 33.

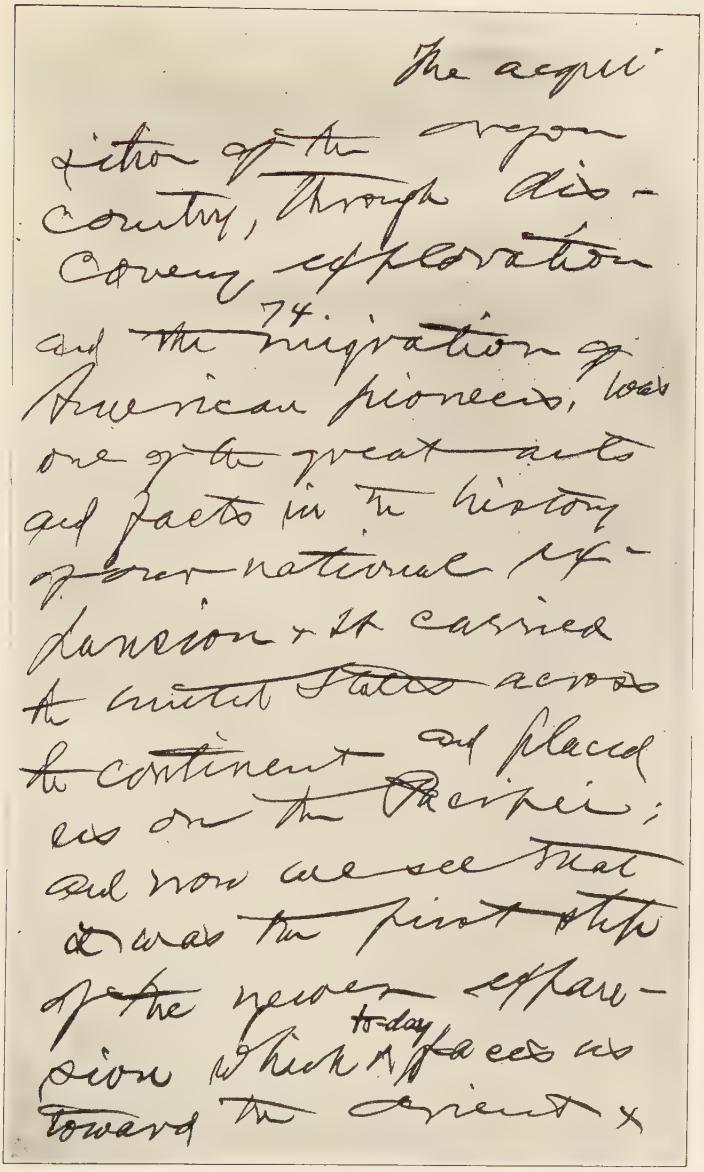
[2] These demarcations were contained in instructions written, by Decres, for

Indefinite as this was, nevertheless it was the general understanding that the line was to follow the summit of the Rocky Mountains northward from the sources of the Rio Grande and the Arkansas. Possession of the mouth of the Mississippi carried with it the country drained by that great stream. But France possessed nothing, and, therefore, could have conveyed to us nothing west of the Rocky Mountains. The northern limits of Spanish territory on the Pacific were as yet unknown, but these were fixed afterwards by the treaty of 1819, through which Spain ceded Florida to the United States. Part of that treaty was an agreement that the forty-second parallel of latitude, from the summit of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, should form the northern boundary of the Spanish possessions, and the southern boundary of those of the United States, in that quarter. This boundary, hitherto, had been an open question. Moreover, the boundary between Florida and Louisiana, indeterminate as other parts of this boundary question during a long period, remained a source of irritation till Florida was finally ceded to the United States.

The Oregon Country was not involved in these difficulties over the boundaries of the Louisiana purchase, for our title to the Oregon Country came through Gray's discovery of the Columbia River and the exploration of Lewis and Clark. The southern boundary of Oregon was, indeed, not precisely settled till 1819, as related above; but Spain made no claims in this quarter that caused us any embarrassment.

We got Texas with Louisiana, in 1803; for, as we have seen, both Spain and France understood that the Louisiana country extended west to the Rio Grande. But in 1819, when Spain ceded Florida to us, we gave up Texas to Spain. This was a most singular proceeding, showing that the United States at that time regarded Florida as superior in value to Texas. President Monroe, in his message to Congress, said: "For territory ceded by Spain (Florida) other terri-

the French captain-general of Louisiana, General Claude Perrin Victor; but the instructions were not issued because Victor never actually assumed authority. See Robertson's *Louisiana Under Spain, France and the United States*, pp. 359–74.


The acquisition of the Oregon country, through discovery, exploration and the migration of American pioneers, was one of the great acts and facts in the history of our national expansion. It carried the United States across the continent and placed us on the Pacific; and now we see that it was the first step of the newer expansion which to-day faces us toward the Orient.

HARVEY W. SCOTT QUOTED ON THE ACQUISITION OF THE OREGON COUNTRY

Facsimile of his editorial "copy." See this volume, page 135

tory (Texas) of great value, to which our claim was believed to be well founded, was ceded by the United States." [1] We repossessed Texas through annexation of the Texan republic, which had achieved its independence in 1845 — the event that caused the war with Mexico. In the speeches, made in Congress, at the time of the admission of Texas into the Union, the act was usually spoken of, not as the "annexation," but as the "re-annexation" of Texas. President Tyler, in announcing the negotiation of the annexation treaty, said that, in the event of its approval by the Senate, "the Government will have succeeded in reclaiming a territory which formerly constituted a portion, as it is confidently believed, of its domain, under the cession of 1803, by France to the United States." [2]

This history, it will be seen, presents a somewhat tangled skein of events, covering nearly two centuries. They who do not take the trouble to unravel it think, in a vague way, that our title to Oregon was somehow involved in the Louisiana purchase; but it is not so at all. Beyond question, however, the acquisition of Louisiana was a leading motive in causing President Jefferson to organize and dispatch the exploring expedition of Lewis and Clark across the continent to the Pacific Ocean. He had, indeed, thought of the project before the acquisition of Louisiana, yet while the negotiation was in progress; but it was the successful termination of this affair that hastened the expedition. The transactions, indeed, were separate; but the centennial of Oregon follows hard upon that of Louisiana. Each was an epoch-making event in the history of the United States. [3]

Expansion through Louisiana to Oregon

(*The Oregonian*, July 21, 1895)

Mr. Justin Winsor, librarian of Harvard University, is writing a series of volumes upon the century-long struggle between France

[1] See President Monroe's message of December 7, 1819.

[2] See President Tyler's message of April 22, 1844.

[3] For narrative of the acquisition of Oregon, by Elwood Evans, see *The Oregonian*, January 2, 1887.

and England for possession of the Saint Lawrence and Mississippi valleys. Two volumes are out already—*From Cartier to Frontenac*, and *Exploration of the Mississippi Basin*. Many persons wonder where Mr. Winsor found avocation to rewrite history, written by Francis Parkman, with such wealth of painstaking and discriminating industry, breadth of historical view and purity and brilliancy of style.

No more romantic and heart-stirring events are to be found in the whole history of American settlements than those which attended the French occupation of the Mississippi delta. No one ever has been able to explain why Parkman thought he could afford to dismiss this episode with a chapter, and Iberville with a few incidental references, after devoting a whole volume to the preliminary operations of La Salle. The occupation of Louisiana connects itself directly with the development of Canada. Iberville and Bienville were Canadian seigneurs. The development of Louisiana, under the charters of Crozat and Law, was an essential part of the history of New France.

The colony was remote from the English, and Parkman may have neglected it as outside the scope of their rivalry for colonial empire. But, as Winsor shows, in his fuller treatment, long before the French and English were near enough to each other in the southern country to have due cause of quarrel, they tormented themselves with the belief that each was inciting the savages against the other. Indian troubles began from the day of Bienville's settlement, on the site of New Orleans, in 1718; and the obscure contests with the Natchez were believed to have the same international significance as the tedious and deadly wars with the Iroquois to the north. Indeed, the colony was founded as a flank movement against the English after the Peace of Ryswick, in 1697. When Iberville was prevented by treaty from harrying the English round Hudson's Bay and on the shores of Newfoundland, he at once looked about for something else to do; and, though he had not what he would have esteemed the good luck of waging a new war immediately, he could easily guess, from the moment that he entered the mouth of the Mississippi, that he was laying out a new field of future

battle. In fact, his first settlement at Biloxi, in 1699, was followed within a few years by the breaking out of the war of the Spanish succession in Europe. Probably his timely occupation of the mouth of the Mississippi during the brief peace saved it from England, as did Napoleon's sale to the United States after the Peace of Amiens, a century later.

Winsor discovers Law's famous Mississippi scheme in a novel aspect. Ruinous as it was to European stockholders, it was the making of Louisiana, as the millions of English capital sunk in North and South America have created prosperous communities there. In 1718 there were only about seven hundred people in Louisiana, including slaves. Crozat had just given up his charter, a bankrupt in Paris; and, in a succession of governors, the colony had not yet found one who knew how to make his charge prosperous. The Law scheme poured money and immigrants into the colony before it broke down. Within five years it added to the seven hundred settlers already mentioned seven thousand more, besides six hundred slaves from Africa. Some of these thousands were useless; but, under the impulses which the company gave, the colony began to assume the character which comes from settled labor, and lost many of the haphazard turns which come from vagrancy. When Law gave up his charter and fell into bankruptcy and disgrace in 1732, the social and commercial status of the colony was fully established. From that time its vicissitudes were all political.

The early history of Louisiana has a special interest for Oregon because it contains the genesis of our own development as part of the American Commonwealth. While Oregon formed no part of the Louisiana purchase, that acquisition of intervening territory opened a path to the Northwest coast and made its exploration and settlement possible. Captain Gray alone could not have made Oregon ours, and it is doubtful if the Astoria expedition ever would have been thought of but for the journey of Lewis and Clark. While we are building monuments to heroes who "saved Oregon," it may be just not to forget Le Moyne d'Iberville, John Law, Napoleon Bonaparte and Thomas Jefferson.

CHAPTER V

BOUNDARY QUESTIONS

Settlement of the Oregon Question in 1846

(*The Oregonian*, December 15, 1895)

About this time fifty years ago the people of the United States were directing their strained attention to the national capital, where the Twenty-ninth Congress was beginning its struggle with the Oregon question. This question was, indeed, the first great problem of President Polk's administration, and when Congress met in December, 1845, the Oregon question and the annexation of Texas claimed a larger share of the public mind than the tariff and currency questions do to-day. The spirit of national aggrandizement and of territorial expansion was in the air. It did not spend its force until the southern and northern boundaries of the Republic had been fixed and its dominion settled from ocean to ocean.

The Oregon question involved the settlement of our northwestern boundary, a source of inevitable discord between us and Great Britain. It should perhaps have been settled by the Ashburton Treaty, which, bearing date of August 9, 1842, fixed the northeastern boundary, as well as affording a cruising convention for the mutual suppression of the slave trade. But the Oregon question was ignored, the omission being the most important of the many matters passed by for later time. Great Britain had long desired to possess the Columbia River. To this end had been bent the active colonization efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company, which hoped to convert Oregon into a British province, and the laborious but tireless negotiations of British diplomacy. That it was not able to accomplish this possession, with all its promise of commercial and strategic importance, was due to a combination of circumstances fortunate for this country.

Three successive attempts had been made to divide Oregon between the nations, but Great Britain had never consented to any of them, because they involved the surrender of the Columbia River to the United States. There is no telling whether British patience might not have been rewarded in this matter, as it has in other boundary disputes the world over, had not the question of Texas and the possible extension of slavery brought on an agitation which served to arouse the national spirit of Americans. Slavery furnished a double force for the Oregon agitation. On the one hand, advocates of annexation of Texas clamored for a general extension of national boundaries, and, on the other, the Oregon question served as a rallying point for those who shared the passion for widening our national area, but wished to head off Texas. The acquisition of, or rather the confirmation of, our claim to this region, served the purpose of inflamed partisan politics. Until this condition arose, Congress refused to pass measures to promote the American occupation of Oregon.

This was the situation when the Twenty-ninth Congress met. The warlike tone of President Polk's inaugural had quickened the emigration spirit, and Northwestern representatives were eager for decided measures. The result was the offer from this country to compromise upon the line of 49 degrees. Why Britain accepted a settlement it had previously declined, was due to a number of causes. One was, Britain had cause to fear trouble from the swarm of American settlers pouring into the disputed region; another, of course, was the knowledge of the war spirit which manifested itself in the debates of Congress. This was potent, inasmuch as a considerable element had contended for "Fifty-four-Forty or Fight." [1] Great Britain was also more pacifically inclined, from the prospective lowering of our tariffs; and Sir Robert Peel was tottering under the obloquy of his corn laws' repeal.

The final settlement of the question soon followed. Lord Aberdeen submitted an offer to compromise on the forty-ninth degree, reserving to Great Britain the whole of Vancouver Island by a line

[1] Meaning 54 degrees, 40 minutes, north latitude; see vol. 1, pp. 292–93.

running through the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The treaty was ratified June 15, 1846, a date thus made forever memorable in American history, especially in the Oregon Country, and one whose semicentennial should not be allowed to pass without a commemoration of some kind.[1]

Britain's Guard of Canadian Boundaries

(*The Oregonian*, October 28, 1903)

The history of boundary disputes, which have been hitherto settled between Great Britain and the United States, does not show on England's part any neglect of the interests of Canada. When the Treaty of Paris was negotiated, in 1782, Lord Shelburne at first demanded all of Maine for the king, but finally yielded so far as to take the Saint Croix River as the eastern line; but the northern boundary of Maine was not settled until Secretary Daniel Webster negotiated the treaty of 1842 with Lord Ashburton. Under this treaty, the United States yielded a strip of Maine as originally claimed, while Britain ceded strips to Vermont and New York; but, on the whole, Canada fared the better under this treaty.

On the Pacific Coast the region in controversy embraced the whole basin of the Columbia River, and the American claim extended from the northern boundary of California, then a Mexican province, to Russian America. Had the United States obtained what it then claimed, our Pacific Coast line would extend to-day from Southern California to Behring Strait, and Canada would have no access to the Pacific Ocean. At that time Russia, by treaty, had recognized this American claim to the fullest extent. The Democratic national convention of 1844 had declared that the entire American claim must be maintained, and President Polk was elected with the war cry of "Fifty-four-Forty or Fight." If it had not been for the outbreak of the Mexican War, the United States might have had war with Great Britain over this American claim

[1] For reprint of history of the Oregon boundary dispute, from Appleton's *The History of the People of the United States*, see *The Oregonian*, May 27, 1900, p. 16. For history of the negotiations and the participation of Hannibal Hamlin, see *The Oregonian*, October 30, 1899, p. 9.

to the Pacific Coast as far as Russian America; but Secretary of State James Buchanan made the conquest of Mexico easier by signing a boundary treaty with Great Britain June 15, 1846, fixing the frontier at the forty-ninth parallel.

To Britain's stand for Canada's interests in 1846, the Dominion owes to-day its possession of the finest part of the province of British Columbia, with Vancouver Island and the smaller islands in the adjacent waters. The United States, but for Britain's stand, would have full control of the strait at the mouth of Puget Sound, of the whole water route from the Georgia Strait to Alaska. Great Britain won a great prize for the future Dominion of Canada, when we were persuaded to accept the forty-ninth parallel for our frontier. But for the Mexican War, we should probably have gone to war with England over the Oregon boundary dispute; but we preferred to conquer Mexico and annex some of its territory. Except in its omission to buy Alaska, whose prospective value was not appreciated then by Canada or by the mother country, Britain, in a century of boundary controversies, has taken good care of Canada.

No Dispute South of Columbia River

(*The Oregonian*, December 5, 1897)

Though Great Britain had set up a vague claim to Oregon down to the forty-second degree of latitude,[1] there never was a doubt that it was ready to accept the Columbia River as a boundary, and never expected more. But we had set up a claim to the country as far as 54 degrees and 40 minutes north; and Great Britain met this with its claim south to 42 degrees. Each country claimed more than it could expect to hold; and the claim of Great Britain was especially extravagant, because, if granted, it would have cut off the United States from the Pacific Coast altogether. Be it remembered that we had not yet acquired California.

It was the purpose and hope of Great Britain to induce the United States to accept the Columbia River as the boundary line.

[1] The southern boundary of Oregon. See vol. I, pp. 292–93.

South of the Columbia River the country was not really in dispute. It belonged to the United States by discovery, exploration and settlement, as Great Britain had practically acknowledged. A treaty with Spain, before Mexico had gained independence, had fixed the southern boundary line at 42 degrees. Astoria was an undisputed American settlement. Captured by the British in the War of 1812–13, it was formally surrendered back to the United States in 1818, in pursuance of the first article of the Treaty of Ghent, which provided for the restoration of all territories, places and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, except those on the Atlantic side of America, specially named.

The communication received by our Government from the agents of Great Britain ran thus: "We, the undersigned, do, in conformity to the first article of the Treaty of Ghent, restore to the Government of the United States the settlement of Fort George (Astoria), on the Columbia River."[1] Our Government ever held this to be an absolute acknowledgment of our right; although the British government, at a later time, declared that it had not intended, by the redelivery of Fort George, any waiver of right on its part. Great Britain was merely playing for the Columbia River as the dividing line. It offered finally to settle on this basis, but the United States would not consent; and then came an intimation that Britain would make no objection if a cession of territory from Mexico to the United States south of 42 degrees, and including the port of San Francisco, could be obtained, if the boundary of the Columbia River were accepted by the United States.

These facts, in sum, go to prove that there was practically no dispute about the Oregon territory south of the Columbia River. Certainly there was ground for none. Great Britain was ready at any time to concede this part of Oregon, and our Government had never thought of abandoning it. The real question was as to the territory north of the Columbia River. We claimed to 54 degrees and 40 minutes, but compromised at 49 degrees.

[1] This restoration was dated October 6, 1818. See Marshall's *Acquisition of Oregon*, vol. 1, p. 144.

There has been too much assumption that our Government was about to surrender Oregon, and that it was necessary that somebody should "save" it. The whole immigration of 1843, moreover, came into the country south of the Columbia River. No part of it settled in the country actually in dispute.

Controversy over San Juan Island[1]

(*The Oregonian*, February 28, 1871)

The British Columbia legislative assembly has adopted the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas, the island of San Juan bears important relations to Canada and British Columbia; and whereas, a joint commission has been appointed by her majesty's and by the Government of the United States, to settle all existing international difficulties:[2]

Resolved, That an humble address be presented to his excellency the governor, respectfully requesting that his excellency will be pleased to represent to her majesty's government, and also to the Canadian government, the great importance of the island of San Juan to the Dominion of Canada as well as the undoubted claims of the crown to the same, and recommend that the Honorable J. W. Trutch may be instructed to appear before the commission, on behalf of British Columbia, for the purpose of supplying information and otherwise promoting the interests of the colony in connection with this question, and also relating to the boundaries of the United States north of British Columbia.

In support of this resolution Dr. Helmcken made a long speech, in which he unfolded and attempted to establish the ideas on which the British claim to San Juan Island is founded. He asserted that

[1] For compiler's note on this controversy, see this volume, pp. 293–94.

[2] This joint high commission of United States and Great Britain was unable to agree on the San Juan question, and referred it to the emperor of Germany for arbitration. The commission was composed of Hamilton Fish, secretary of state; Robert C. Schenck, minister to Great Britain; Samuel Nelson, justice of the United States supreme court; Ebenezer R. Hoar, ex-attorney-general of the United States; George H. Williams, ex-senator from Oregon, later attorney-general of the United States; Earl de Grey and Ripon; Sir Stafford H. Northcote; Edward Thornton, minister to the United States; John A. MacDonald, attorney-general of Canada; Montague Bernard, professor of international law at Oxford. This commission sat at Washington February 27–May 6, 1871, and concluded the Treaty of Washington May 8, 1871, for arbitration of the San Juan dispute, the *Alabama* claims and other matters.

possession of the island by British Columbia is necessary for the defense of the country, and denied that the Americans need it for the defense of their commerce or their territorial possessions. With much warmth the speaker said: "San Juan must not, cannot, be given up on any account."

Now this controversy is to be decided in accordance with the treaty of 1846; and so certain are the American people of their right to the island that they do not contemplate a possibility that their claim can be relinquished. The clause of the treaty on which our claim is founded is this:

> From the point on the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, where the boundary laid down in existing treaties and conventions between the United States and Great Britain terminates, the line of boundary between the territories of the United States and those of her Britannic majesty shall be continued westward along the said forty-ninth parallel of north latitude to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver Island, and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel and of Fuca strait to the Pacific Ocean.[1]

The United States claims that the said "channel" is the Haro Strait; the British claim that it is Rosario Strait. Accurate surveys have been made of both, and the surveys demonstrated beyond question that the former is both the wider and deeper one. It is therefore the main channel. Indeed, the member of the British Columbian legislative assembly who moved the resolution above stated, virtually admitted this fact, in his speech in support of it, by remarking that "the Haro Strait is a practicable one, though possessing many disadvantages, such as fewer anchorages and much deeper water than the Rosario one." Pray, then, why is not the Haro Strait "the channel"? Here is British authority actually conceding our right to San Juan Island.

Besides the greater width and depth of the Haro Strait, it is a much shorter communication than Rosario Strait, between the Georgia Strait and the Pacific Ocean. It being undoubtedly the navigable channel which, at its position, separates Vancouver Island from the continent, and having the largest volume of water

[1] *Senate Documents*, Sixty-first Congress, second session, vol. 47.

passing through it, there should be no question whatever as to its being the boundary intended and designated in the treaty. That the Senate of the United States so understood it when the treaty was ratified by that body, is plain from the speeches of Mr. Benton and other prominent senators. Benton, in describing the line, said:

> When the line reaches the channel which separates Vancouver Island from the continent, it proceeds to the middle of the channel, and thence turning south through the channel De Haro to the Strait of Fuca and then west, through the middle of that strait, to the sea.[1]

This was the understanding which the United States had of the treaty when it was agreed upon, and at that time no other interpretation was deemed possible.

The commercial importance of our Northwest coast, which is to be realized in the not distant future through the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad,[2] and through other agencies, will make it impossible for us, if we exercise the smallest degree of prudence or regard for the future, to relinquish our claim as to the northwest boundary. Inasmuch as British Columbia deems it important to send a person to Washington to urge the members of the high commission, on the part of Great Britain, to push the pretended and unfounded claim in regard to the boundary, which was set up by that country some ten or twelve years after the treaty of 1846 was ratified, it is of the highest consequence that the commissioners, on the part of the United States, should be vigilant in the matter, and take a firm and decided position in behalf of the claim of the United States. And the matter should now be brought to a settlement without further delay; the joint military occupation of San Juan Island should be terminated, and the true intent of the treaty of 1846 carried out.[3]

[1] From a speech of Senator Benton, in United States Senate, June 18, 1846. See *Congressional Globe* appendix, first session Twenty-ninth Congress, p. 867.

[2] Opened to Puget Sound, October 4, 1884; Cascade branch to Puget Sound, June 1, 1887. See p. 125, preceding.

[3] For history of San Juan Island, see *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. II, pp. 290–93, by Charles McKay.

The American Argument by George Bancroft

(*The Oregonian*, June 17, 1872)

Washington dispatches say that our Government has very full advices from Minister Bancroft [1] concerning the arguments and evidence laid before the emperor of Germany, in relation to the San Juan boundary. The American case makes thirty-two quarto pages, with an appendix of about fifty. The British case contains about the same amount of matter, including the appendix. Both have elaborately prepared maps, and, among the documents accompanying the British case, are copies of the Frémont [2] map of Oregon and California in 1848, in which, in fixing the outline, the boundary was drawn very nearly as now claimed by the British. No attention is called to this map in the first case, but it is evidently to be used in the countercase. Mr. Bancroft, however, has been furnished with statements from Frémont and Charles Preuss,[3] who drew the map, showing conclusively that it is of no authority whatever upon the question involved. The British are not thought at Berlin to feel that their case is a strong one.

Mr. Bancroft, in his introduction to the case, observes that, of all the persons who had anything to do with the treaty of 1846, he alone survives; and he has been commissioned by his country to explain to the emperor of Germany, as arbitrator, the solid foundation on which the United States bases its claim. In his argument Mr. Bancroft maintains that the language of the treaty, taken as a whole, admits of no other than the American interpretation, and the words of the description of the two channels, considered collectively, establish the American interpretation and exclude every

[1] George Bancroft (1800–1891), historian, was secretary of the navy, 1845, and, at the time of the Oregon boundary negotiations with Great Britain, gave the first order to take possession of California. He was minister to Great Britain, 1846–49. In 1872 he prepared the American argument for the arbitration, by the emperor of Germany, of the San Juan dispute.

[2] John Charles Frémont, explorer and soldier. See vol. II, p. 169.

[3] Charles Preuss made a *Topographical Map of the Road from Missouri to Oregon* (Oregon Trail), in 1846, "from the field notes and journal" of Captain J. C. Frémont.

other. On the parallel of the boundary canal, Haro is the only channel which, in the language of the treaty, "separates the continent from Vancouver Island." The British government asks the imperial arbitrator to find as the channel of the treaty the Rosario Strait, for which, in January, 1848, they had no name and no description. These so-called straits are not straits at all, and on British maps never bore a name till after the British government introduced the new interpretation of the treaty of 1846. The channel of Rosario Strait does not even lead to Fuca strait when followed from a point where a parallel of the boundary strikes it, and could not possibly fulfill the terms of the treaty. Mr. Bancroft shows conclusively that the understanding of our commissioners was that the treaty fixed the boundary as we now claim it, and closes with showing that the present British interpretation would fix upon the commissioners of that nation an attempt to deceive and dupe Americans and establish the fact that the latter were duped; whereas the American interpretation would impute only an honorable course to the British commissioners and relieve them from the suspicion of desiring to dupe, and Americans from the position of having been duped. Our authorities feel confident of a decision in our favor, and, unless serious trouble should follow the possible failure of the Geneva conference, the decision of the San Juan question may still be reached, although for the present the *Alabama* claims fail.[1]

[1] The *Alabama* claims were awarded September 14, 1872, by an international court at Geneva. The indemnity was $15,500,000, which Great Britain paid in 1873.

CHAPTER VI

REMINISCENCES OF BRITISH OREGON

British Reconnoissance of 1845

(*The Oregonian*, September 7, 1909)

The latest number of the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society contains valuable papers, hitherto unpublished, on the early history of Oregon — consisting of British documents obtained partly from the war office and partly from the foreign office, in London, by Professor Joseph Schafer, of the University of Oregon,[1] and edited by himself, with an introductory and explanatory essay.[2] The documents relate to the military reconnoissance in Oregon, in 1845–46, by two officers sent from Canada by direction of the British government for examination of the Oregon Country, with instructions to report on the conditions, under the joint occupation of the United States and Great Britain, which was not terminated till nearly a year after their visit. These officers were Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour, who came to Fort Vancouver in November, 1845, and departed in the following March. The agents of the Hudson's Bay Company had instructions to lend all assistance.

These officers, of course, kept their own counsel as to the objects of their mission, yet their presence and movements were observed by some of the American settlers, who, inasmuch as the title to the country was still in dispute, naturally would be interested in the visit and observations of British officers. Their report did not reach England till after the settlement of the boundary question, and was too late, therefore, to have any bearing on the negotiations or results. Its principal value now is the information it contains about the conditions existing in the Oregon Country, at that time, under the joint occupation. There was special instruction to push on, so

[1] See Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 294.

[2] See Oregon *Quarterly*, vol. X, pp. 1–99; *Washington Quarterly*, vol. III, pp. 131–53.

as to reach the Pacific as early as possible with a view of anticipating Lieutenant Frémont,[1] of the United States Army, who was supposed to be about to leave Saint Louis for the same destination.

What the peoples of the two nations in the Oregon Country were doing is very fully, yet concisely, stated in the report. The importance of the American migration into the country was dwelt upon; and it was reported that, "whatever may have been the motives or the orders of the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company's posts west of the Rocky Mountains, their policy has trended to the introduction of American settlers into the country." This could hardly refer to any other sort of assistance than that afforded to a people who were in want of the actual necessaries of life and of protection against the Indians. In other words, the help to the Americans was supplied through motives of humanity. That Dr. McLoughlin [2] took the lead in it will cause him to be held forever in the grateful remembrance of Oregon.

Professor Schafer's editorial work on these records, with his explanatory essay, leaves nothing to be desired. There are brief notes at the foot of the page, where necessary, for elucidation of the text.

The Visit of Captain John Gordon

(*The Oregonian*, January 8, 1909)

A book entitled, *The Conquest of the Great Northwest*, by Miss Agnes C. Laut, a Canadian woman of northwestern upbringing, has just been published. The book (in two volumes) would be more accurately named "A History of the Hudson's Bay Company." But there is a good deal in the book about the long controversy between the United States and Great Britain over the Oregon question; and in this narrative the old story is told over again more definitely than in any of the common versions presented in our long-familiar accounts. Lord Aberdeen [3] was, at the time, the British foreign sec-

[1] John C. Frémont's explorations covered the years 1843–53.

[2] For note on Dr. John McLoughlin, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, pp. 294–96.

[3] Aberdeen was foreign secretary, under Peel, in 1841–46.

retary. He had sent his brother, Captain John Gordon,[1] to the Columbia River and to Puget Sound to take a look over the disputed territory. The old story follows, thus revamped:

> In vain the fur traders of Oregon and Vancouver Island spread the choicest game on Captain Gordon's table. He could not have his English bath. He could not have his English bed. He had had bad luck deerstalking, and worse luck fishing. Asked if he did not think the mountains magnificent, his response was that he would not give the bleakest hill in Scotland for all those mountains in a heap. Meanwhile the Hudson's Bay Company was wasting candle light in London preparing the case for the retention of Oregon. Matters hung fire. Should it be joint occupancy, "Fifty-four-Forty or Fight," or compromise? Aberdeen's brother, on leave home, was called in. "Oregon? Oregon?" Yes, Gordon remembered Oregon. Been fishing there last year, and "the fish would n't rise to the fly worth a d— ! Let the country go!" This in a country where fish might be scooped out in tubfuls, without fly or line!

That there is much truth in this story has never been doubted — though we never have seen it presented quite with this detail before. It is a legendary story, like the stories of Homer, or the Whitman amplification — truer than history itself, because they take the place of history, become endowed with what is called "human interest," and are more readily believed than plain and simple and unimaginative truth. The general mind does n't want history.

Yet the old story, told above, doubtless is substantially a true one. Such incident, however, never decided, between the United States and Great Britain, the title to Oregon. We claimed to 54 degrees and 40 minutes; the British claimed to the Columbia River. Each party had a strong argument. The controversy, as is usual in such cases, ended on a basis of compromise.

But we should like to know about this Aberdeen-Gordon story and where the original documents — if any — are. Miss Laut does not inform us. But her revival of the story interests us, nevertheless.

[1] A British fleet at this time was at Discovery Bay (1845). The British warship, *Modeste*, was stationed in the Columbia River from early in 1844 until April, 1847. Captain Gordon was commander of the fifty-gun ship of war *America*, at Puget Sound. He sailed for Valparaiso and England in September, 1845. The United States had an almost equal fleet in the Pacific. Relations between the United States and Britain, over the Oregon boundary, were at that time strained. Captain Gordon considered Oregon not worth a war.

PART II

PIONEER SETTLEMENT

CHAPTER VII

KELLEY AND WYETH

Genesis of Pioneer Settlement [1]

Bryant's poem, "Thanatopsis," widely read, was among the instruments by which the name *Oregon* was first brought into general notice. About the time this poem was published, in 1817 or soon afterwards, Hall Jackson Kelley,[2] a school-teacher of Boston, began a work, in behalf of Oregon, that Oregon has never yet sufficiently acknowledged. Kelley was an eccentric man, an enthusiast, one of those who seize a single idea and devote their lives to it. Some incident, perhaps not remembered in after years by himself, drew his attention to Oregon; and when his attention was fixed, Oregon became the one thought of his life. As early as 1820 he published pamphlets on Oregon; he addressed memorials to Congress on Oregon, and endeavored to get up schemes for colonization of Oregon. He was industrious and even indefatigable; he talked Oregon and wrote Oregon in season and out of season; he pressed upon Congress the importance and value of the Oregon Country, which he described as a paradise, and for which, with the spirit of the enthusiast, he predicted a wonderful future. He it was, beyond all question, who first urged the settlement of Oregon, insisted upon its practicability and set forth the importance and value of the Oregon Country to the United States. Many with whom he came in contact regarded him merely as a bore or troublesome fellow, and this impression was deepened by a tone in his speech and writings which was regarded as religious cant. He was at Washington, D.C., during several sessions of Congress, endeavoring to get the aid of the Government for a plan of colonization, but was unsuccessful.

[1] Address delivered at the eighteenth annual reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association at Portland, June 17, 1890.

[2] For discussion of Kelley and Nathaniel J. Wyeth, by George H. Himes, see *The Oregonian*, October 28, 1900, p. 5. See Compiler's Appendix, vol. 1, p. 296.

He did, however, succeed in drawing the attention of many persons, in public and private life, to Oregon, and his efforts helped greatly to make the name familiar, at least as a geographical expression, to the country. The newspapers began to print it, and inquiry was stimulated. The narrative of Lewis and Clark had never obtained wide circulation; effort had been abandoned and almost forgotten; some years were yet to elapse before the publication of Irving's book on the Astor undertaking,[1] and the expedition of Bonneville[2] was still in the future. During this period, Hall J. Kelley may be said to have "had the floor on the Oregon question." His services were great and valuable.

The first positive result of the effort of Kelley was the expedition of Wyeth to Oregon. Nathaniel J. Wyeth,[3] of Cambridge, Massachusetts, moved thereto by the writings of Kelley, came out across the plains with a party in 1832, arriving at Vancouver about the end of October of that year.[4] Wyeth's vessel, the *Sultana*, which he had dispatched for the Columbia River, and which he expected to find on his arrival, failed to appear. It had been wrecked on the voyage, and the goods which Wyeth had intended for trade with the Indians here were also lost. Suspecting the loss of the vessel, but not knowing it, Wyeth hastened back to Boston in 1833, and again in 1834 was ready for the plains. He had dispatched another vessel, the *May Dacre*, which he had loaded with goods for barter, and this vessel arrived almost simultaneously with himself. Wyeth set up a trading post on Sauvie's Island,[5] at the mouth of the Willamette, and disposed of his goods. Kelley, himself, came to Oregon the same year (1834). His route was through Mexico and California. The same year the Reverend Jason Lee, the Methodist missionary who admitted that he received his first knowledge of Oregon through

[1] *Astoria* was published in 1836.

[2] *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville* was published in 1837.

[3] See pp. 204–06, following.

[4] The narrative of Nathaniel J. Wyeth is contained in *The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth*, edited by Professor F. G. Young and published at the University of Oregon in 1899. For narrative of Oregon in 1832, by G. N. Barstow, see *The Oregonian*, December 11, 1904, p. 33.

[5] For note on Sauvie's Island, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 296.

Kelley, arrived. This was the beginning of the missionary movement.

I can only glance at these events; it is impossible to present their details, and my present purpose is merely to show some of the first results of Kelley's efforts in behalf of Oregon. The missionary effort was soon fairly launched, and how important a part it played in Oregon's early history is sufficiently known. Kelley quitted Oregon in 1835, and Wyeth in 1837. A number of men had been associated with the latter, most of whom remained.

Kelley drew up a plan, in 1829, for a city in Oregon on the peninsula between the Columbia and Willamette rivers.[1] The effort to carry it into effect was to be commenced in 1832. Putting forth its "prospectus," he said:

> The settlement, carrying on a trade with the islands of the Pacific and with people about the shores of that ocean commensurate with its wants, must advance in prosperity and power unexampled in the history of nations. From the plenitude of its own resources it will soon be enabled to sustain its own operations and will hasten on to its own majesty and to a proud rank on the earth.[2]

Possibly our real estate men, who are now so vigorously advertising "peninsular additions," will take note of the fact that Kelley was ahead of them, with map and plat and advertisement of that same ground, by sixty-one years.

This strange, eccentric man may almost be called the prophet of Oregon, the father of migration to Oregon, the man who hastened the fulfillment of Oregon's destiny. He came to Oregon in 1834; he left Oregon in 1835 and never returned. But he never ceased, throughout his long life, to think, talk and write of Oregon. During the later years of his life he lived alone at Three Rivers, Massachusetts, and died in January, 1874, at the age of eighty-five years.

From 1840 the talk about Oregon steadily increased. It spread among the pioneers, or those who had been pioneers, in Missouri, Illinois and other states of the West. It reawakened their old love

[1] The peninsular part of Portland occupies this location.

[2] See Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, vol. I, p. 68.

of adventure, offered a source of relief for their restlessness, and held out to them the vague hopes always promised by the unknown. Situated where they were, communities were growing up around them; they had lost the sovereignty of space and wanted to recover it; they liked not close settlements, still less cities, where man disputes with man for air, space, sunshine. Fixed residence was less agreeable than indefinite removal; the imagination loved to dwell on the illimitable, where no bounds are set to freedom of movement and action. When man takes root as a plant in the earth he gains in security, in policy, in numbers, in country, in intelligence, in government; but he loses in liberty. By a strange paradox, by so much as man gains in variety, by so much as he differentiates his life, by so many more cords is he bound. Man feels depressed and crushed in a crowd, but elevated and expanded in solitude. He who is alone feels that he is important; for he measures himself by his actual standard, and not by the method of the census-taker — not by the indistinguishable numerical value which his single existence represents in a populous city or nation. The imagination is fed by visions and illusions; and yet, so deep a mystery is man that these, in fact, have greater power over him than realities, and the realm of imagination becomes man's truest world.

These were the people who constituted the body of those now coming to Oregon. There had been an effort to establish missions among the Indians; but these people did not come for missionary purposes. There were earnest endeavors on the part of a few far-seeing men to augment the force of Americans in the country, so as to create a counterpoise to British influence and secure the disputed territory to the United States; but this was not the motive that impelled the main column of migration. Efforts for missionary work and reports of missionaries on the country had done much to create an interest in Oregon, as in the case of the Reverend Jason Lee, whose lectures in Illinois in 1838 started the Peoria party in 1839; agitation of the "Oregon question" in Congress and throughout the country, based on the desire to plant a body of American citizens here whose presence would attest the sovereignty of the

United States, had helped to make Oregon known; and the Western pioneer, hearing of Oregon as a wonderland, could not restrain his impatience; he had not yet been satiated with adventure, and he looked back on the conditions of pioneer life, from which the states of the Upper Mississippi region were just emerging, as a golden age of freedom which might be renewed on the distant shores of the Pacific, and the fact that privation was to be met and danger was to be braved, added a zest to the undertaking.

There is a woman still living, not distant from Portland, who rode across the plains to Oregon on horseback, two and fifty years ago. She was a member of one of the parties of missionaries who came to work among the Indians, at that early day, before the typical Western pioneer, tamer of the wilderness, turned his steps hither. This woman is Mrs. Walker,[1] widow of the late Reverend Elkanah Walker,[2] of Forest Grove. One other survivor of the party with which she came, the Reverend Cushing Eells,[3] is a resident of Pierce County, state of Washington. I know not whether we have left any who came to Oregon at an earlier day than these.

In the winter of 1838 a lecture on Oregon was delivered at Peoria, Illinois, by the Reverend Jason Lee,[4] a Methodist missionary, who had been here and was returning East for a reinforcement. This lecture led to the formation of a company of about nineteen young men, who started for Oregon in the spring of 1839.[5] The sole survivor of this party is Amos Cook,[6] of Lafayette, Yamhill County.

[1] Mrs. Elkanah Walker was born at Baldwin, Maine, April 1, 1811. She was Mary Richardson. Her marriage took place March 5, 1838. She and her husband came to Oregon in 1838. She died December 5, 1897, at Forest Grove, Oregon. Her biography appears in *The Oregonian*, December 6, 1897, p. 2. Her children were: Cyrus H., Marcus W., Joseph E., Jeremiah, John R., Levi C., and Samuel T. Walker, and Mrs. James (Abigail) Karr. See vol. v, p. 203.

[2] For biographical note on Elkanah Walker, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 289.

[3] For biographical note on Cushing Eells, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, pp. 289–90.

[4] See pp. 207–22, this volume.

[5] The Peoria party. See Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 281; also vol. I, pp. 309-15, narrative by Sarah M. Kelty.

[6] Amos Cook died February 3, 1895. See note, pp. 214–15, following. He was the earliest permanent American settler in Yamhill County. See vol. v, pp. 210–12.

Just as this party was reaching Vancouver, in May, 1840, the Reverend J. L. Parrish, who had come by sea, arrived at the same place. Mr. Parrish still lives, at Salem.[1] The names of no other persons of American birth, still living, who came to settle in Oregon at so early a day as these, occur to me. So many, once numbered among our pioneers, who came long after those whom I have named, have passed away, that these stand out at this day with an added prominence on the roll of our pioneers. One who long preceded them, a pioneer of 1836 — William H. Gray [2] of Astoria — recently passed away.

Wyeth's Oregon Expedition

(*The Oregonian*, July 15, 1904)

The article printed on another page, entitled "History From Boston," from the *Chronicle*, university paper of Cambridge, Massachusetts, evidently is made up from a little book published at Cambridge in 1833.[3] This is perhaps the rarest of all books relating to the early history of Oregon. It is entitled *Oregon: or A Short History of a Long Journey From the Atlantic Ocean to the Region of the Pacific, by Land.* "Drawn up From the Notes and Oral Information of John B. Wyeth, One of the Party Who Left Mr. Nathaniel J. Wyeth, July 28th, 1832, Four Days' March Beyond the Ridge of the Rocky Mountains, and the Only One who has Returned to New England." [4] The title is formidable — though the book contains but eighty-seven pages. Its value, however, as a historical document, is very great; for, in the first place, this little book is exceedingly scarce, and, in the second place, it supplies information about Wyeth's first expedition to Oregon not elsewhere recorded.

[1] Mr. Parrish died May 31, 1895. See note, vol. II, p. 8.

[2] William H. Gray died at Portland November 14, 1889. See p. 159, preceding.

[3] This article was published in the Cambridge, Massachusetts, *Chronicle*, June 25, 1904; written by Isaac S. Pear. It is an account of Nathaniel J. Wyeth's first journey to Oregon. It names the personnel of the party of twenty-one members; republished in *The Oregonian*, July 15, 1904.

[4] This book was obtained by Mr. Scott in 1904, through S. U. Millard, of McClurg and Company, Chicago. Kinsfolk of Captain Wyeth had declared no such book had been written or published.

So scarce is this book that one wonders where the copy was found from which the materials for this article, referred to above, were obtained. H. D. Brown, of the "Old Book Shop," number 21 Boylston Street, Cambridge, in reply to a call for this book, last April, wrote: "You inquire for 'Wyeth's Oregon.' There is no book on the subject. I have seen the Wyeths, and they say that their great-uncle traveled across the country, and that Washington Irving published about his travels. I thought I would look this up, being interested in Cambridge affairs — also never hearing of such a book." [1]

Yet *The Oregonian* is in possession of a copy of this book. It came from the library of the late Judge Sidney Breese,[2] of Illinois, and bears his autograph. Judge Breese was one of those who, sixty or seventy years ago, took interest in maintenance of the claim of the United States to the Oregon territory; and the copy of Wyeth's book before us contains many marks and annotations by Judge Breese.

Clearly it is from this book that the article printed by *The Oregonian* on another page to-day was made up — probably from a copy preserved in the Harvard University Library. The author, John B. Wyeth, was a cousin of Nathaniel B. Wyeth, the leader of the expedition. He presents an account of the origin of the expedition of 1832, and of its progress to a point four days' march west of the summit of the Rocky Mountains. There, through disagreement among themselves, the party broke up — nine turning back and ten continuing the westward journey. Among those who turned back was John B. Wyeth, author of this narrative. He was a youth of twenty, and, throughout his book, there are sneers at the pretensions of his kinsman who led the expedition, querulous remarks about the country and the hardships of the journey, and emphatic expressions of disbelief in the value of the Oregon Country. Young

[1] This letter is extant, with Mr. Scott's copy of the book.

[2] Sidney Breese (1800–1878) represented Illinois in the United States Senate, 1843–49. As chairman of the Senate committee on public lands, he reported in favor of a transcontinental railroad to the Pacific. Later he published a book, *Origin and History of the Pacific Railroad.*

Wyeth thought his cousin, the leader of the party, a fool and a dupe, filled with extravagant ideas of the possibilities of the country that had been explored by Lewis and Clark, and visited by Astor's parties; and he ascribed the infatuation of his cousin to the writings of Hall J. Kelley — the early enthusiast for Oregon.

J. B. Wyeth, in his little book of 1833, says that "Nathaniel J. Wyeth had listened with peculiar delight to all the flattering accounts from the Western regions, and that at a time when he was surrounded with apparent advantages, and even with enviable circumstances." The inference carried throughout the book was that the author's kinsman was a fool to believe such stuff; but "Hall J. Kelley's writings had operated like a match applied to combustive matter in the mind of the energetic Nathaniel J. Wyeth, which reflected and multiplied the images in the flattering glass held up to view by the ingenious and well-disposed schoolmaster." These sneers and sarcasms continue throughout the book.

But though one-half his party deserted him in the Rocky Mountains, Nathaniel J. Wyeth pursued his course, and, with eleven men, arrived at Vancouver October 29, 1832. This was the beginning of the actual settlement of Oregon by citizens of the United States. All who had come previously had gone back; but after Wyeth's first expedition, in 1832, there were permanent American settlers in Oregon. From this time the number increased, but for ten years very slowly.

It is interesting to note that our young friend, John B. Wyeth, near the close of his book, delivers this opinion on the country he had never seen, to-wit:

> What is the reason that Congress — the great council of the Nation, the collected wisdom of the United States — has turned a deaf ear to all applications for establishing a colony on the Oregon river? Some of the members of that honorable house of legislation know that the district in question is a boisterous and inclement region, with less to eat, less to warm the traveler and to cook with, than at the mouth of any other known river in the United States.

From our youthful author on Oregon, this will do for to-day.

CHAPTER VIII

JASON LEE

Missionary and Pioneer Leader[1]

The history of the origin of each of our states lies in the biography and character of the few who were first actors in the history. It is a record, therefore, of the individual lives of men and women rather than of great events. Such were the opening scenes in the history of Oregon.

I refer now not to the first discoveries and explorations, but to the conditions that started the permanent settlement and began the continuous social and political life of Oregon. But when we are able to take up the history of a commonwealth from its very beginning, and in particular when that beginning was in smallest things, of recent development, almost wholly under our own eyes, there is obvious advantage. We are able to see clearly, assign the founders to their proper places, and to accord them severally their meed of fame.

There is something unsatisfactory in beginning a history with the mature state of a country. As in biography, so in history, we desire to go back to the cradle and see the growth of social and political life from the first small beginnings. There is, moreover,

[1] This was an address delivered at Salem, Oregon, in the First Methodist Church, June 15, 1906. On that day the remains of Jason Lee were reinterred in Lee Mission Cemetery, at Salem. Jason Lee died at Stanstead, Canada, March 2, 1845. The movement to reinter his remains in Oregon started with the Columbia River annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at The Dalles, in 1904. The Oregon conference took up the plan, and a joint committee of the two bodies arranged details. The members of the joint committee were R. A. Booth, Walton Skipworth, Mrs. Smith-French, Dr. J. H. Coleman, Amadee M. Smith and F. H. Grubbs (*The Oregonian*, December 11, 1904, p. 33). The day of reinterment was that of the sixty-second commencement of Willamette University. The afternoon service, at which Mr. Scott delivered this address, was under auspices of the Oregon Pioneer Association. See vol. I, p. 296.

not a little difficulty in finding a later moment which will afford a real starting point. In a mature state each condition is the result of what went before, and the human mind feels compelled to seek causes for this as for every other effect.

The absence of written documents in the early ages obliges us to form all our ideas of primitive history from oral traditions, handed down from generation to generation. These become more or less changed by lapse of time, and are accompanied with superstition and a belief in the miraculous intervention of the Divinity — a doctrine which it enhances while it envelops the pride of a people with a halo of glory.

But we have, for the origins of the history of Oregon, abundance of written and printed contemporary material; and we know, therefore, we are on the sure and solid ground of historical truth. Here, however, are disadvantages, because there is little room for play of the imagination. The poetry is lost.

One who stands as an actor on the threshold of such a new movement has great advantage in this, that, though his labors may be arduous, he has a chance — a certainty, almost — of reaching a place in the memory of posterity. And, after all, fame is something, and it is something to win even remembrance among men. Though Milton declares the desire of fame —

> That last infirmity of noble mind,

yet the desire is one that justifies itself in the lives of men, and even at the bar of human history. For none would live without notice or praise, if he could gain it, nor pass to the Infinite Unknown leaving no mention or memorials of his name.

I am not now intending to give a sketch of the early history of Oregon, but shall attempt some account or estimate of one of the leading actors in it, incidentally only referring to others. I avoid claims made for one and another, and all controversy as to who "saved Oregon"; for, in my conception, Oregon was secured to the United States by a train of events in which numerous persons were important actors. Nevertheless, I must give chief credit for our

beginning as an American state to the missionary effort, of which Jason Lee was the protagonist.

Attempts were made prior to the coming of Jason Lee, but they were failures. I need not speak of Astor's unsuccessful undertaking;[1] nor of the failure of succeeding adventurers, Wyeth[2] and Bonneville,[3] whose enterprises were those of traders; nor of the attempted colonization by Hall J. Kelley, which ended even more disastrously. It was not until the American missionaries entered and possessed the country — neither as traders nor as secular colonizers, though in reality willing to become both — that a foothold was gained for the occupation of Oregon by American settlers. With exception of Felix Hathaway,[4] who had come by ship in 1829, of Solomon Smith,[5] of Clatsop, and perhaps one or two more who had come with Wyeth's first expedition in 1832, there were, so far as I am able to ascertain, no Americans in Oregon when Jason Lee and his four companions came in 1834. Hall J. Kelley and Ewing Young,[6] coming from California, arrived the same year, a little later.

A word here about the members of this first missionary party of five persons, beginning with Jason and Daniel Lee.[7] Jason Lee was a man of earnest and energetic character. He was devoted to ideals, yet one could not say that he was a man of great original genius. Such, indeed, are not numerous in our world. But he was sincere, strong in his convictions and in himself. He was a man of sincere piety, of settled beliefs, and was fit for the work in which he was to engage. It was a hopeless scheme, indeed — that of educating and civilizing the Indians of that time — but he did not know it, and

[1] At Astoria, 1811–13.

[2] For note on Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, pp. 296–97.

[3] For note on Benjamin Eulalie de Bonneville, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 297.

[4] For note on Felix Hathaway, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 297.

[5] For note on Solomon Howard Smith and John Ball, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 297.

[6] For note on Ewing Young, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 298.

[7] For note on early Methodism in Oregon, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 298.

therefore did not trouble himself with doubts. He believed fully in the future of this great country, yet was scarcely aware that the Indian could not be a factor in it. On the contrary, he thought the Indian might be. This was a mistake. But what he did was to lead the way to American colonization.

The second man was Daniel Lee,[1] nephew of the former, thoroughly devoted to the idea of the mission, young and ardent, not idealistic, but practical, with a world of good common sense and with a willingness to work. He labored in the missionary cause in Oregon till August, 1843, when he left the country, never to return. The ill health of his wife required his departure with her. They left by sea. Daniel Lee continued in the ministry in the Eastern states during many years, and died in Oklahoma in 1895.

With the Lees from New York came Cyrus Shepard, from Lynn, Massachusetts. He was thoroughly devoted to the work for which he had engaged, but had not the physical constitution necessary for its hardships. After his arrival in Oregon he married Susan Downing, who came out by sea in the *Hamilton*, with the Elijah White party, arriving in 1837. Shepard died in January, 1840. His wife and two children survived him.[2]

Jason Lee, Daniel Lee and Cyrus Shepard were the original party. In Missouri they engaged two young men for their adventure — Philip L. Edwards and Courtney M. Walker.

Edwards was a native of Kentucky. In his early boyhood his father moved to Missouri. Here, at the age of twenty-two, he joined the Lee expedition to Oregon. He taught a school at Champoeg[3] in 1835, and in 1836 went to California to obtain cattle for the settlers in Oregon. With Ewing Young he returned with nearly twelve hundred, which laid the foundation for rapid accumulation of the comforts of life and future wealth.

In March, 1837, Edwards took the trail for the East, over the plains, with Jason Lee and two Indian boys. Returning to his old

[1] See Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 298. [2] See vol. I, p. 214.
[3] Champoeg was on Willamette River below Newberg. See Compiler's Appendix, vol. II, p. 221.

British Camp on San Juan Island at Time of Boundary Dispute between Great Britain and United States in 1859–71

home in Missouri, he entered the field of politics and was elected to the legislature. He was chairman of the delegation from Missouri to the national convention at Baltimore in 1844, which nominated Henry Clay for the Presidency. At Richmond, Missouri, he practiced law successfully till 1850, when he went overland to California, and in 1855 was in the legislature of that state as a representative from Sacramento. Wherever he lived he was always a man of note. He died at Sacramento in 1869.

The fifth member of this pioneer missionary party was Courtney M. Walker.[1] He was engaged in Missouri, upon a contract for one year, to assist in establishing the mission. He never left Oregon, but took an Indian wife, lived in Yamhill, and left a posterity, now I think extinct. As I remember him, he was a courtly gentleman who, toward the end of his life managed to dress well, and had the appearance of a man of culture and leisure. A daughter, Helen, married a lawyer in Yamhill, named John Cummins, who in 1862 was a representative of that county in the legislature. Cummins and wife went to Washington, D.C., where he practiced law. She died there, after a few years, leaving no children. The offspring of white marriages with Indians seldom were long lived.

I give these details, picked up out of many sources of information not readily accessible. But they possess an interest, since they lie at the basis of the creation of the states of the Pacific Northwest; and the smallest details of the beginning of great things have human interest and historic value.

All accounts of the missionary movement to Oregon begin with the story of the four Flathead Indians, who in 1832 [2] made their

[1] Courtney M. Walker remained with the mission one year. In 1880 he settled in Tillamook County.

[2] Probably 1831. Barrows' *Oregon* gives the year as 1832. Professor W. I. Marshall, in his *Acquisition of Oregon*, cites that one of these four Indians was buried at Saint Louis October 31, 1831, and a second, November 17, 1831, as shown by the register of burials of the cathedral of Saint Louis; also that mention of the four Flatheads is contained in a letter, dated December 31, 1831, from the bishop of Saint Louis, the Right Reverend Joseph Rosati, which letter was published at Lyons, France, in 1832. See Marshall's *Acquisition of Oregon*, vol. II, pp. 7–8; *Washington Quarterly*, vol. II, pp. 193–208, by T. C. Elliott. For note on the Flathead Indians, see vol. I, p. 299.

way over mountains and plains to Saint Louis, on a journey whose object, the missionary spirit tells us, was to obtain religious instruction for themselves and their people. I confess this story has always seemed to me to have a mythical element in it; and Daniel Lee in his book[1] intimates that the later development of the story was subject to doubt. Nevertheless he tells us that General William Clark,[2] of the Lewis and Clark expedition, told him in 1834 that two years before — that is, in 1832 — four Indians, probably Flatheads, had accompanied a party of white trappers from the mountains to Saint Louis, and had given him an interesting account of their journey and its objects. From the trappers they had heard of the white man's God, and the Book He had given, and they wanted to know. General Clark was not a doctor of theology, and appears to have answered them in merely conventional terms. The story, carried by the newspapers to the East, touched the religious imagination, and served the missionary purpose just as well as if the sole object for which the Indians had accompanied the trappers was to make these inquiries. Certain it is that the cause which started the first of our missionaries to Oregon was publication in New York of this simple Indian story. Let not incredulity smile at the simplicity of the recital. This is the true beginning of the history of the making of Oregon.

The missionary expedition did not find its resting place in the country of the Nez Percés or the Flatheads, according to the original intention. It fell in with the Wyeth party[3] and came on down to the Willamette, then the settlement of a few of the men of the Hudson's Bay Company — British subjects, many of whom had taken Indian wives. The Wyeth party was to meet, at the mouth of the Willamette, the little vessel[4] which Wyeth had dispatched from Boston, with goods for the Indian trade. The destination of the Wyeth party determined also that of the Lee party. Both were received with kindness by Dr. McLoughlin, the chief factor of the

[1] *Ten Years in Oregon*, by Daniel Lee and J. H. Frost.
[2] Then superintendent of Indian affairs at Saint Louis.
[3] The second Wyeth party.
[4] The *May Dacre*.

Hudson's Bay Company.[1] Shepard remained at Vancouver, detained by sickness. Jason Lee and Courtney Walker went on up the Willamette by boat, and Daniel Lee and Edwards took horses, for which they were indebted to the kindness of Dr. McLoughlin, and joined the others at the site chosen for the mission on the Willamette, a few miles below the present city of Salem.[2] It was not till after much deliberation that the mission was established at that place, for we are told that the merits of different portions of the country were considered. The Flatheads, the Nez Percés, the Cayuses and other tribes were carefully reviewed, but, to the exclusion of all others, the Willamette Valley was selected, chiefly because it was "strongly recommended by Dr. McLoughlin and the rest of the gentlemen at Vancouver." [3] How, in the face of testimony like this, delivered by the American missionaries themselves, it could have been supposed, or told later, that the British people in the country were enemies of our people, passes comprehension.

There were no collisions here of serious character between the representatives of the different countries — due to good common sense on both sides, to mutual forbearance, and to common language and kinship. The reception accorded to our people by the British was uniformly considerate. We have seen how they interested themselves in the settlement of our first missionaries, and remembrance of the benevolence of Dr. McLoughlin to our people, shown many long years, is a possession that will be cherished in our history forever.

In every sketch of the early history of Oregon it is necessary to make some statement of the controversy between Great Britain and the United States over rights of sovereignty here. I shall not pursue the subject, but must mention it, for it is the key to our pioneer history, and the fact must ever be borne in mind when dealing with any part of the theme.

[1] For biography of Dr. John McLoughlin, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, pp. 294–96.

[2] This site was ten miles north of the present city of Salem, on the east bank of Willamette River, at Chemayway, or Mission Bottom.

[3] See Gray's *History of Oregon*, p. 159.

As missionaries to the Indians, the little band and those who came after them cannot be said to have been successful. After few years not many Indians remained to be educated and civilized. This was not the fault of the missionaries, but the inevitable and universal consequence, repeated here, of contact of the white and Indian races. But as settlers and colonizers, our missionaries "came out strong." They, with the reinforcements sent out during the next ten years, became the chief force that Americanized Oregon and held the country till the general immigration began to arrive.

The Presbyterians followed the Methodists in the missionary effort. Samuel Parker[1] was sent out in 1835. Whitman[2] came in 1836. Reinforcement to the Methodist mission arrived by sea in the spring of 1837. Its leader was Dr. Elijah White.[3] Dr. White and wife sailed from Boston in the ship *Hamilton*, July 2, 1836. They came by way of the Hawaiian Islands. With them came a dozen persons, for work in the mission.[4]

Within a year after this reinforcement arrived, Jason Lee, realizing the need of a still stronger force for the work, started East over the plains. This was in 1838, more than four years before "Whitman's ride," undertaken for a similar purpose. Passing through Peoria, Illinois, in the winter of 1838, he delivered a lecture on Oregon. This started a party of young men from Peoria for Oregon in the spring of 1839. The party disagreed and divided. Part of it passed the winter at Brown's Hole, on Green River, some miles below where the main line of the Union Pacific Railroad now crosses that stream. In the spring of 1840 it came on to Oregon, arriving at Vancouver in May, 1840. In this Peoria party were Joseph Holman,[5] Sidney Smith,[6] Amos Cook[7] and Francis

[1] See vol. I, p. 129. [2] See vol. I, pp. 223–32, 302–04.
[3] See vol. II, p. 225.
[4] Anna Maria Pittman became the wife of Jason Lee, and Susan Downing became the wife of Cyrus Shepard July 26, 1837; Elvira Johnson became the wife of the Reverend H. K. W. Perkins November 21, 1837; Perkins came in the *Sumatra* from Boston, arriving at Fort Vancouver September 7, 1837.
[5] For biography of Joseph Holman, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 299.
[6] For biography of Sidney Smith, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 299.
[7] Amos Cook was born in Washington County, Maine, January 8, 1816;

Fletcher,[1] all of whom lived to old age and left descendants, now living in various parts of the state.

Before he had arrived at the end of his journey eastward, Jason Lee heard of the death of his wife [2] in Oregon, shortly after he had left her. Bowing, as man must, to so great a grief and loss, yet his purpose was not shaken. He bestirred himself with all energy to obtain further help for the mission in Oregon, and in October, 1839, with a large party that included many names which became widely known in our pioneer life, sailed from New York in the bark *Lausanne* for the Columbia River. The vessel arrived in the river just as the Peoria party, which had started a year earlier, came down the Columbia to Vancouver — that is, in May, 1840. The party that came by the *Lausanne* became known in missionary annals as "the great reinforcement."

White left Oregon in July, 1840, by sea for New York. In 1842 he came out again to Oregon, over the plains. With him came a large party, among whom were persons afterwards well known in the history of Oregon, as J. R. Robb,[3] S. W. Moss,[4] Medorem Crawford,[5] the Pomeroys,[6] Andrew and Darling Smith,[7] and many more. White himself went back over the plains in 1845; came again to Oregon by Panama in 1861, with a permission from President Lincoln for an industrial scheme among the Indians, but, finding it impracticable — most of the Indians having passed away —

died at Lafayette, Oregon, February 3, 1895. He engaged in mercantile business at Lafayette, then in farming. His advertisement appears in *The Oregonian*, December 6, 1851. See p. 203 preceding.

[1] Francis Fletcher settled on Yamhill River, near Lafayette; born in England in 1815.

[2] For death and epitaph of Anna Maria Pittman Lee, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, pp. 299–300.

[3] For biography of James R. Robb, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 300.

[4] For biography of Sidney Walter Moss, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 300.

[5] For biography of Medorem Crawford, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, pp. 300–01.

[6] Walter Pomeroy and Dwight Pomeroy.

[7] Darling Smith settled on the west branch of Tualatin River. Andrew D. Smith settled in Yamhill County. The latter was born in Dutchess County, New York, 1792; died near Dayton, Oregon, December 18, 1852.

remained but a short time and departed for California. He spent the last years of his life at San Francisco, where he died in 1879.

Of course, it is known and acknowledged on all sides that the missionary enterprise led by Jason Lee was not the only one in the early history of Oregon that left its impress on the life of the country, directed its course and determined its destiny. There were other similar undertakings, but this one was the first, and, on the whole, more powerful than any other. After the Whitman massacre,[1] all Protestant missions in the Upper Columbia region were abandoned, and the people came to the Willamette Valley.

But it was not merely to obtain a reinforcement for the mission that Lee prosecuted his work in the Eastern states. His was the first work, done by a resident of Oregon, to induce the Government of the United States to aid in colonization and support of the country, to settle it with American people, and to establish here an American state. Knowing also that commerce must attend the settlement of the country, he made representations to the Cushings,[2] of Massachusetts, which interested them in commercial effort in this direction; and this brought John H. Couch [3] to Oregon in 1840, in the bark *Maryland*, with goods for the trade, and again in the *Chenamus*, in 1844.

The Catholic missions[4] in Oregon were started in 1838, four years later than the Methodist, and two years later than the Presbyterian.

Jason Lee, leaving Oregon in 1838, and reaching the Atlantic states early in 1839, at once directed his efforts to the purposes he

[1] The Whitman massacre, November 29–30, 1847.

[2] For work of the Cushings for Oregon, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 301.

[3] For note on John H. Couch, see Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 301.

[4] For history of the Catholic missions in Oregon, see *The Oregonian*, December 4, 1888, p. 3; history of the Catholic mission at Vancouver, *ibid.*, January 15, 1887; history of Catholic Church in Willamette Valley, *ibid.*, July 17, 1887, p. 1; description of the Catholic Cathedral, at Third and Stark streets, Portland, *ibid.*, October 20, 1879, p. 3. The corner stone for this building was laid August 15, 1878, but construction began in 1871. The corner stone of Sisters' Academy, at Salem, was laid March 14, 1872. Columbia University, at Portland, was founded in 1901. Cardinal Gibbons, at Portland, October 9, 1887, conferred the pallium on Archbishop Gross.

had in view, and for which he had made the tedious journey over the plains. Before he started for Oregon he and P. L. Edwards, who had come with him, drew up a memorial to Congress, which was signed by Lee and Edwards, by every member of the mission at Willamette station, by seventeen other American citizens, nearly all at that time in the country, and by nine French-Canadians who desired to become citizens of the United States. The object of the memorial was to induce Congress to extend the protection of the United States over the Oregon Country, and to encourage its settlement by American citizens. It was dated March 16, 1838. Lee carried this memorial to Washington. It was an elaborate statement of the merits and value of the Oregon Country, and the first appeal made to the Government of the United States, by any body of the American settlers in Oregon, for assertion by Congress of the rights and sovereignty of the United States. "Our interests," said these petitioners in Oregon, "are identified with those of the country of our adoption. We flatter ourselves that we are the germ of a great state, and are anxious to give an early tone to the moral and intellectual character of its citizens. We are fully aware, too, that the destinies of our posterity will be intimately affected by the character of those who emigrate to this country. The territory must populate. The Congress of the United States must say by whom . . . by the reckless and unprincipled adventurer, not by the hardy and enterprising pioneer of the West." Further, the position of Oregon on the Pacific Coast and its necessary relations to future commerce were explained, and strong appeal was added that the United States should at once take "formal possession." [1]

It is not my intention to claim merit for one at the expense of another. All our pioneers did well. All performed their part. But it is due to the truth of history to show that Jason Lee was the leader in colonial as in missionary work in Oregon, and that his journey to the East in the interests of Oregon, and his appeal to

[1] For text of this memorial, dated March 16, 1838, see Brown's *Political History of Oregon*, pp. 55–56; also reports of House of Representatives, Twenty-fifth Congress, third session.

Washington, antedated the journey and the appeal of Whitman by five years.

We have said the contest between our own people and the subjects of Great Britain for possession of the Oregon Country was the key to our pioneer history. It stimulated the early migration and hastened the settlement. The missionary stations were outposts on the line of colonization. It was through their appeals, chiefly, that the Oregon Country was brought to the attention of the pioneer spirit, ever moving westward; and it is not too much to say that most of those, who came to Oregon during the first twenty years of settlement and growth, were moved to come by the agitation begun and carried on by those engaged in the missionary cause.

There is a vague instinct which leads restless spirits to leave their native country in early life to try fortune elsewhere. Each thinks, no doubt, that beyond his visual horizon there lies new moral space, with large, though unknown opportunities. Change of place is the natural demand of this restlessness of spirit. The world, through all ages, has received the benefit of it; it has been one of the great moving forces in the history in our race. Our Oregon of to-day is a product of it.

The Indian races of Oregon, and, in particular, of Western Oregon, rapidly melted away. But among the white settlers, fast increasing in numbers after 1840, there was growing field of religious, moral and educational work. Jason Lee had remarried; and again his wife was called away by death. Sore as was the bereavement, he pursued his work. New demands were constantly arising, and to meet these he deemed it necessary to make another journey to the Eastern states for additional assistance. Parting with his co-laborers in the missions, and leaving his infant daughter,[1] he sailed from the Columbia River in November, 1843, just after the arrival of the great immigration of that year. Passing through Mexico, he reached New York in May, 1844. Thence he went again directly to Washington to urge once more upon the Govern-

[1] Lucy Anna Maria Lee, born in 1842; died April 28, 1881; married Francis H. Grubbs.

ment the necessity of terminating the joint occupation of Oregon and of establishing quickly and definitely the sovereignty of the United States.

But Jason Lee was never to see Oregon again. Conferences with his missionary board, and work of preparation for larger efforts in Oregon, occupied him during the remainder of the year 1844. But his arduous labors, the privations and sacrifices of more than ten years, had broken his constitution, and in March, 1845, his mortal part passed from earth. But his spirit is here, and the work he set in motion is a possession here forever. It is fit that Oregon should recover his dust and that its soil should hold his remains as the life of its people holds his spirit.[1] Yet human glory was not his aim. His object was a higher one, and he achieved it. His name lives; yet of such mold was he that, assured as he was that the Almighty Judge could not forget, even the oblivion of man could have been no matter to him.

He was still young — not yet forty-two years of age; but

> Virtue, not length of days, the mind matures;

and,

> That life is long which answers life's great end.

A great nature is a seed. The spirit of life and of action which springs from it grows and will grow among men forever. Thus it is that man is the only being that cannot die. The poet tells us, in mournful cadence, that the path of glory leads but to the grave. But this is true only in a superficial sense. The path of glory does not end in the grave. It passes through it to larger opportunities of service — into a spirit that it stimulates and feeds, and into the spirit that survives it, in men's minds forever.

Not long remembered would Jason Lee have been — we may suppose — but for the fortune of opportunity that sent him to Oregon. With all men of action it is so. But for his opportunity, given by the Civil War, General Grant would have no name. How

[1] The remains of Jason Lee were moved from Standstead, Canada, and reinterred at Salem, Oregon, in 1906. See note, p. 207, preceding.

slight the original incidents that have linked the name of Jason Lee inseparably with the history of Oregon! The Protestant missions failed, as missions, but they were the main instruments that peopled Oregon with Americans. That is, they were more successful than their authors ever dreamed they could be. They established the foundations of the sovereignty of the United States in the Pacific Northwest. The mission was the first low wash of the waves where now rolls this great human sea, to increase in power, we may believe, throughout all ages.

Jason Lee, though a preacher of power, relied not on the graces of pulpit eloquence. Deep was his earnestness, but he was not a showy man. His journey to the West and his work herein vastly extended his spiritual and intellectual vision. Bancroft,[1] in his study of the character of Lee, says:

> No discipline of lecture room, general ministration, or other experience, could have been so valuable a preparation for his duties as the rude routine of the days of his overland journey. It seemed to him as if his theological sea had suddenly become boundless, and he might sail, unquestioned, whithersoever the winds should carry him. It was delightful — this cutting loose from conventionalisms — for even Methodist preachers are men. Not that there was present any inclination toward a relaxation of principles, as is the case with so many on leaving home and all its healthful influences; on the contrary, he felt himself more than ever the chosen of God, as he was thus brought nearer Him in nature, where he was, sustained and guarded by day, and at night enfolded in his starry covering. Fires, both physical and mental, blazed brightly, and he was not a whit behind the most efficient of his company in willingness, ability and courage.

This is the testimony of a writer who, throughout his monumental work on the origins of the Pacific states, has shown little disposition to laud the missionaries, or to accord them more than their due.

It is small business either to disparage or flatter the ministry. But we may, even at the grave,[2] speak of the minister as a man. Theology, like conscience, belongs to the private property of each communion; we shall not invade its precincts nor call its devotees

[1] See Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, vol. I, p. 61.
[2] The grave of Jason Lee at Salem, Oregon.

to question. But, putting aside the doctrine of the priest and considering only the sacerdotal calling in its relations to the world, we must acknowledge the moral superiority and exalted privileges which this profession offers to the man of genuis, spirit and virtue who devotes himself to its exercise. On this basis the missionaries to Oregon, of all denominations, Protestant and Catholic, are to be judged without loss to them of any element of worthy reputation.

Of the two women who shared with Jason Lee the labors of his life in Oregon, the annals of the time are full of appreciative description. Each was a type of devoted womanhood. Though they gave all for the opportunity to labor in this then unknown field, and sacrificed their lives in it, they are fortunate in name and fame. The first wife, Anna Maria Pittman, died in 1838; the second, Lucy Thomson,[1] in March, 1842 — sorrowful fatality, due to the conditions of remote pioneer life, in which woman had to bear more than her part, and yet in her hour of need could not have the assistance that her sisters in more favored circumstances receive. Such were some of the sacrifices of the pioneer time through which this country was prepared as a dwelling place for the succeeding generations.

It is difficult for any generation to estimate rightly its contemporary men and women of real worth. There are many mistaken estimates. After the Restoration in England, John Milton was overlooked and forgotten. Though the literary defender of the Commonwealth and regicides, he was regarded as too unimportant for notice. His obscurity secured him immunity from prosecution, and he died unnoticed. But so great is he now that kings and princes and nobles of his time walk about under his shadow; the very age that neglected him is now known as "The Age of Milton," and receives its luster from his name. Mind and spirit are the controlling forces of the world. Men of preëminence can be estimated only by their peers. Equality of judgment is too

[1] For details of the death of Lucy Thomson Lee, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 300.

scantily bestowed in any living generation to insure a correct decision, to settle the scale of pretension, to arrange the gradations of favor, or the definite place or title which each is to occupy in the ranks of fame. Contemporary men often pronounce that to be greatest which approaches nearest to themselves, since they are able to look upon it with the distinctness of close proximity. But the judgment is with the future time. We get no proper sense of the majesty of our mountain peaks when near them. We must draw back a little if we would take in their full grandeur.

On this view the work of our missionaries in Oregon rises to proportions more and more majestic, as we study it from the viewpoint of history and of consequences; and though others bore lofty spirits and did great work, no name stands or will stand above that of Jason Lee.[1]

[1] For narrative address on Jason Lee, by William D. Fenton, see *The Oregonian*, June 24, 1906, p. 18; *Quarterly* of Oregon Historical Society, vol. VII, pp. 233–43. For narrative of the first Fourth of July celebration in Oregon in 1834 (Nathaniel Wyeth and Jason Lee), by George H. Himes, see *The Oregonian*, July 4, 1906, p. 6. For estimate of Jason Lee's place in the history of Washington state, by Allen Weir, *ibid.*, June 17, 1906, p. 31; *Quarterly* of Oregon Historical Society, vol. VII, pp. 272–81; for narrative of the party of 1834, by the Reverend Harvey K. Hines, see *The Oregonian*, February 21, 1878, p. 3. See narrative, by John Martin Conse, *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. VI, pp. 251–63.

CHAPTER IX

MARCUS WHITMAN

Oregon Not "Saved" by Whitman

(*The Oregonian*, June 1, 1895)

Dr. Marcus Whitman was a most courageous, worthy and useful pioneer. But, during twenty years, there has grown up a habit of exaggeration in regard to his services and achievements. Two things in particular are asserted: First, that his winter journey overland "saved" Oregon to the United States; second, that but for him there would have been no migration to Oregon in 1843.

When persons go so far as to say that the United States, but for Whitman, would have surrendered Oregon, and that but for him the large party that came to Oregon in 1843 would not have assembled or made the journey, they pass into the domain of romance.

(*The Oregonian*, January 30, 1901)

Whitman was a man of sudden impulses, rather than of calculated purpose, as when he started to Oregon with Samuel Parker in 1835, yet, when about half-way over, took the notion to turn back and come next year with another party, leaving Parker to go on to Oregon alone. He acted upon similarly sudden impulse in resolving on the winter ride. Good judges have always been of the opinion that it was his want of tact in dealing with the Indians that led to the murder of himself and family. He practiced medicine among them without taking sufficient account of their customs and prejudices; his teaching was of rigorous kind, not adapted to Indian character or to the conceptions of the primitive human mind. In spite of his benevolent intentions, the Indians, therefore, began to distrust him, and soon were incensed against him.

(*The Oregonian*, November 30, 1897)

MARCUS WHITMAN was a native of Rushville, Ontario County, New York; born September 4, 1802. He was educated for a physician. Engaged as a missionary physician for Oregon, by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, he started West in 1835 in company with the Reverend Samuel Parker.[1] Upon their arrival at Green River, in August of that year, after consultation on the objects of the journey and the means of carrying them into effect, Parker and Whitman separated and Parker came on alone. William H. Gray, who knew Whitman well from long association with him, intimates, in his *History of Oregon*, that there was disagreement between Parker and Whitman, or at least that they were not congenial. Whitman returned to New York, where he married Miss Narcissa Prentiss, and the American Board appointed the Reverend H. H. Spalding and wife to come out to Oregon in company with him. William H. Gray, of Utica, New York, was engaged to come as a mechanic.

Whitman and wife, Spalding and wife and William H. Gray came to Oregon in 1836, without special incident or difficulty, and entered upon the work of founding their missions. Parker did not remain in the country. Gray says they could get "no definite information about him or his plans, except that he was on his return to 'the states,' by way of the Sandwich Islands." [2]

Small reinforcements were sent out to the missions from year to year. In the fall of 1842 Whitman took a sudden resolve to return to "the states" across the plains. This was the celebrated "winter ride." It was a daring adventure. On the motives that actuated him, and on the objects and results of the journey, the so-called Whitman controversy turns. It is asserted that Whitman suddenly received information that led him to believe or fear that our Government was about to surrender Oregon to Great Britain, and that he made

[1] This article was written a few days after the remains of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman were exhumed for reinterment, and while the present Whitman monument was under construction. See note, pp. 230, 265, following; also Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 302, for notes on the Whitman massacre.

[2] See Gray's *History of Oregon*, p. 124.

his famous ride to avert this danger and save the country to the United States; that his plan embraced two purposes, one of which was to visit Washington and make his appeal directly to the President; the other to assemble and bring to Oregon as large a body of Americans as possible to serve as a counterpoise to British influence here. It is asserted, moreover, that he was completely successful in both objects, and therefore that he saved Oregon to the United States.

Whitman's motives need not be questioned. To him they were sufficient.[1] His trip was an act of high, but not of judicious courage. It called for extraordinary fortitude and endurance and Whitman was equal to it. But it was not necessary, for our Government was not about to surrender Oregon, nor was the large migration to Oregon in 1843 a product, to any appreciable extent, of Whitman's winter ride.

Review of the history will prove beyond question that our Government was not about to surrender its claims to Oregon; but, on the contrary, was resolved to maintain them. President Tyler, in his message to Congress December 7, 1842, adverted to the Oregon question in a manner that showed no disposition whatever to surrender any of our claims or rights. The President said that the question of boundaries west of the Rocky Mountains had been left open in the recent negotiations with Great Britain, for the reason that the Executive did not regard it as proper to waive all the advantages of an honorable adjustment of other difficulties of great magnitude and importance because this, not so immediately pressing, stood in the way. "Yet," he added, "I shall not delay to urge on Great Britain the importance of its early settlement."[2] This part of the message was referred to the committees on foreign affairs in both houses of Congress. Within a few days Senator Linn, of Missouri, brought a bill into the Senate for the occupation and settlement of the territory of Oregon, and for extending the

[1] For various writers on the Whitman controversy, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, pp. 302–04.

[2] This message is quoted in Marshall's *Acquisition of Oregon*, vol. I, p. 218.

laws of the United States over it. This bill was debated at length, and passed the Senate February 3, 1843, but did not reach a vote in the House of Representatives.

The debate on Oregon during the winter of 1842–43 (Whitman was then making his overland journey) and the passage of Linn's bill through the Senate, attracted a great deal of attention in the Western states, which were still alive with the spirit of adventure and migration, and in particular in Missouri, then the outpost of Western adventure; and the efforts of Senators Lewis F. Linn and Thomas H. Benton, of that state, awakened special interest among their constituents and friends. These were the causes that assembled and set in motion the large emigrant party of 1843. Few of the party had ever heard of Whitman, and the pioneers of 1843, who have spoken since this controversy began, some twenty years ago, have borne uniform testimony that Whitman had nothing whatever to do with formation of their purpose to come to Oregon. It was not possible he should have, since few had even heard his name till he came up with the party after it had started. James W. Nesmith, in his address before the pioneers in 1875, said: "On the 20th of May, 1843, after a pretty thorough military organization, we took up our line of march, with Captain John Gantt,[1] an old army officer, who combined the character of trapper and mountaineer, as our guide. Gantt had in his wanderings been as far as Green River, and assured us of the practicability of a wagon road thus far. Green River, the extent of our guide's knowledge in that direction, was not half-way to the Willamette Valley, then the only inhabited portion of Oregon. Beyond that we had not the slightest conjecture of the difficulties of the country. We went forth trusting to the future, and would doubtless have encountered more difficulties than we experienced had not Dr. Whitman overtaken us before we reached the terminus of our guide's knowledge. He was familiar with the whole route, and was confident that wagons could pass through the canyons and gorges of Snake River and over the Blue Mountains, which the

[1] At Fort Hall, John Gantt and others left the Oregon party for California.

mountaineers in the vicinity of Fort Hall declared to be a physical impossibility." [1]

Here, then, was the service that Dr. Whitman rendered to the emigration of 1843. He did not assemble it nor set it in motion; he did not cause it to start, and it would have started just the same had he not performed the winter ride, or had he never existed; but he overtook it after it had started, and was very serviceable to it on its way. He left it, however, at Fort Boise, to hasten on to his family, and the party drove the wagons to The Dalles.

There is no disposition anywhere to underrate Whitman as man, nor to disparage his services to the country. History simply requires truth, without exaggeration or detraction. More has been claimed for Whitman than history warrants — not perhaps more for his intentions, but certainly more for his achievements. His fate, cruel as it was, was perhaps fortunate for his fame; for it may be set down as highly probable, if not wholly certain, that, had he lived through his natural life, he would have been lost in some degree or obscured in the throng, and would have gone to his grave without the exceptional honors invented for him since his death. It was the pathetic end of himself and family that has so touched the sensibilities and set the pitiful angel of human nature at a task so agreeable to it as that of making new honors for those who, having shown heroic traits of character, perished in the service of humanity and civilization. For honor of such names imagination invariably supplies details of heroic achievement, for which not only no warrant is found in sober history, but which careful appeal to sober history will prove to be unfounded. Whitman, however, has a true fame, and it is imperishable. His monument is not the shaft now erected to his memory after the lapse of fifty years, but the remembrance that an earnest man fell a sacrifice, with his family, to a noble effort to change a savage wilderness into a seat of civilization. Apart from this, in the geographical and institutional nomenclature of the country, his name, on human lips, liveth evermore.

[1] *Transactions* of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1875, p. 47. That the mountaineers said "impossible" may be doubted. See this volume, p. 304.

(*The Oregonian*, December 1, 1897)

THE romance about Whitman, of which there has been such a flood, recalls a paragraph from one of Sir Henry Sumner Maine's books on *Early Institutions*, in which it is shown that the tendency to make plausible and agreeable fiction persists, in spite of general culture.

> So far [he says] from intellectual growth being itself certain to destroy error, it constantly supplies it with new weapons. We teach our students to cultivate language, and we only add strength to sophistry; we teach them to cultivate their imagination, and it only gives grace and color to delusion; we teach them to cultivate their reasoning powers, and they find a thousand reasons in allegory, in analogy and in mysticism, for evading and discrediting truth. Unchecked by external truth, the mind of man has a fatal facility for ensnaring and entrapping and entangling itself.

So a people easily neglect or distort the actual events of their own history, even in these days when printing is universal, and delight themselves with romance of their own and others' making. The history of the age of Homer, and of the ages that preceded him, is lost, but romance, substituted for that history, remains. One hundred persons can repeat the fable about Washington and the hatchet, where one can tell anything about such real and grave affairs, in his life, as the Gates-Conway-Mifflin cabal to overthrow him.

MANY "SAVED" OREGON

(*The Oregonian*, February 8, 1910)

WHITMAN'S purposes and services are well understood. He was one, among many pioneers, who rendered service in establishing American settlement here. But there were many before him. The effort of Jason Lee antedated that of Whitman, and the country was "saved" even before the great migration of 1843.

James W. Nesmith relates how this party was gathered at Independence for the journey. He, himself, had intended to come the year before, and left Jefferson County, Iowa, to join Elijah White's party, of 1842, but arrived too late at Independence. He remained there throughout the year, and in the spring of 1843, as by a common impulse, "the restless frontiersmen" began to gather for the

long journey. "Without any formal promulgation," says Nesmith, "it became fairly understood, and was so published in the few border papers then in existence, that our emigration party would rendezvous at Independence to start for Oregon as soon as the grass would subsist the stock." [1]

An earlier pioneer than Whitman, and more influential in bringing missionaries and settlers to Oregon, was Jason Lee. His influence on the early movement which assured American ascendancy here was far greater than Whitman's. He came in 1834, two years before Whitman, and went back in 1838–40. The Peoria party, of 1839–40, was started by him; the coming of the party by the ship *Lausanne*, in 1840, was a result of his work. Before the immigration of 1843 arrived, the Americans had begun to outnumber British subjects in Oregon, as shown by the result of the meeting at Champoeg in May, 1843. All this was due to Jason Lee, more than to any other man. But many had part in saving Oregon — Whitman among the rest. The movement began with Gray's discovery; [2] and in regular order followed the expedition of Lewis and Clark,[3] the undertaking of Astor,[4] the trading expeditions of Wyeth,[5] the missionary enterprise of Jason Lee and his associates,[6] the coming of Samuel Parker [7] and Hall J. Kelley; [8] then the first journey of Whitman and his associates,[9] the advent of the Peoria party,[10] the coming of Elijah White, with his considerable party, in 1842, and finally the large migration of 1843, a member of which was James W. Nesmith, the most competent of all witnesses who have told how it was gathered, and what its motives or purposes were in taking up the journey over the great wilderness to a destination practically unknown.

[1] See *Transactions* of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1875, p. 45.
[2] Discovery of Columbia River, 1792.
[3] Lewis and Clark in Oregon, 1805–06.
[4] Astor enterprise, 1811–13.
[5] Expeditions of Wyeth, 1832–33, 1834–36.
[6] Lee's missionary enterprise, 1834–44.
[7] Parker arrived in 1835.
[8] Kelley arrived in 1834.
[9] Whitman's first journey, 1836.
[10] This was the party of Thomas J. Farnham. Its members who arrived in 1839–40 were Farnham, Robert Shortess, Sidney Smith, W. Blair, Francis Fletcher, Joseph Holman, Ralph L. Kilbourne and Amos Cook. See vol. I, p. 214; also, pp. 281, 309–15.

In Memory of Whitman

(*The Oregonian*, February 11, 1895)

The movement to raise an endowment fund of $200,000 for Whitman College,[1] at Walla Walla, as a lasting monument to the memory of Dr. Marcus Whitman, gives promise of success and has aroused widespread interest in Whitman and his career. Dr. D. K. Pearsons,[2] of Chicago, subscribed $50,000 on the condition that $150-000 more be raised. Walla Walla citizens subscribed $50,000 of this, and the Congregational ministers of Chicago have undertaken to raise the remainder among the churches of their denomination. Their plan is to request ministers to preach a sermon on Whitman, each in his own church, and to take up a collection for the endowment fund. It is thought the matter will be taken up generally and the fund be raised in a single day. The bones of Dr. Whitman and his noble wife, both martyrs to their missionary zeal, have lain under a grassy mound near Walla Walla for almost half a century, without a monument to mark the spot. A number of years ago a monument association was organized, but enough money could not be raised to erect a suitable stone. The endowment of the college bearing his name and located within a few miles of the scene of his missionary labors, is an enduring monument.[3]

Dr. Whitman was an educated man, of great force of character and resolution. He was not the first missionary to cross the continent and begin work among the Indians of Oregon; but his was the first mission established among the great bunchgrass hills of the interior. There is no doubt that he looked forward to the final acquisition of this region by the United States, and that he recognized, in as full a measure as he could, in its then undeveloped

[1] For history of Whitman College, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 305.

[2] Daniel Kimball Pearsons (1820–1912) made many gifts to small colleges, particularly to Chicago Theological Seminary and Beloit College.

[3] An appropriate monument was erected near the grave of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman in 1898. It is a tall shaft of granite on the summit of a hill, and is visible for many miles. The remains of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman were disinterred October 22, 1897, and reinterred January 29, 1898. For details of the monument enterprise, see *The Oregonian*, March 10, 1883, p. 3; March 24, 1883, p. 3.

condition, its richness. That he was influenced by these ideas, in connection with a desire to represent the true situation to the missionary board as to rival missions, in deciding to undertake his remarkable winter journey in 1842, there is little doubt; but the story about his controversy with an enthusiastic Briton at Fort Walla Walla, and the reports of his interviews with Daniel Webster and President Tyler, and of his assembling the large emigrant train of 1843, are fictitious.

In the organization of the provisional government and in the work of that government in the following years, Whitman took no part, as he certainly would have done had he played the rôle ascribed to him later by his former missionary associates. He remained at his mission and attended to the details of managing it. Each year, as new immigrants from the East arrived at his place, on their way to the Willamette Valley, he gave them a welcome.

During all this time the rivalry between the Protestant and Catholic missions was becoming sharper, and the latter were rapidly gaining the stronger hold upon the Indians, who were becoming prejudiced against the Protestants because they were Americans, and encouraged other Americans to come and welcomed them when they arrived. The establishment of a rival mission on the Umatilla and sickness among the Indians, alleged by the disaffected ones to be caused by Whitman in order to kill off the Indians and give their country to the whites, at last brought the culmination, and the horrible massacre of November 29–30, 1847, was perpetrated and the faithful missionary, his noble wife and others were killed.

There is enough in this tale, without adding fictitious dramatic scenes and purposes and performances never even hinted at by him, to show that Whitman was a self-sacrificing Christian missionary, a patriotic American, a man of noble purposes and intrepid in the performance of what he deemed to be his duty, and one who improved fully all opportunities that came to him to win Oregon for his native land. The Congregational Church should honor him as

a missionary and as a patriot.[1] As a laborious and helpful pioneer of Oregon, he should have his name inscribed among the first on the roll of honor of the state. This is the position time will eventually give him.

(*The Oregonian*, October 17, 1909)

Dr. Whitman's services were very important, but no more so than those of many others among the American pioneers. The destruction of himself, his family and his mission, by savage massacre, is a tale that stirs, and will ever stir the sensibilities of all who can be moved by recital of heroic sacrifice. It is the basis and nourisher of what is known as the Whitman legend.

(*The Oregonian*, January 29, 1910)

Too much has been claimed for Whitman. But this cannot be allowed to detract from the credit which is his due. It was the massacre of himself and family that furnished the soil in which the legend that "Whitman saved Oregon" grew. It was incubating, or lay dormant, or perhaps was not thought of as making for "history" till twenty years after the event. Then pious fiction brought it forth, and the religious and ecclesiastical spirit propagated it. Similar things are met with, in innumerable instances, in the twilight of historical origins. Nothing is more easy than the generation of plausible fiction in such cases, since nothing else so well fits or conforms to the natural disposition of the human mind.

(*The Oregonian*, February 8, 1910)

But for the massacre, Whitman never would have been thought "the most conspicuous figure of the whole epoch." His name would simply stand as one of many among the pioneers.

[1] For history of Congregationalism in Oregon, see this volume, p. 306. Whitman joined that church in 1824, and the Presbyterian, in 1833. See Myron Eells' *Marcus Whitman*, p. 22; Mowry's *Marcus Whitman*, p. 62. Presbyterian, Congregational and Dutch Reformed churches sent Whitman to Oregon. His mission church was Presbyterian in name and Congregational in practice.

CHAPTER X

EVOLUTION OF THE PIONEER

The Migration to Oregon, an Old Aryan Movement

(*The Oregonian*, July 24, 1901)

From the time the Aryan race began to leave its cradle in Asia, the migration of its sturdiest stock has been toward the West. It swarmed over Europe and built empires and republics. Next we find it in the New World, hugging the coast line and regarding the vast interior country with dread, mixed with superstitious awe. For more than a century after the founding of Jamestown, the beautiful Shenandoah Valley was unknown to the Virginians. "It was still part of the unmeasured wilderness," says John Fiske,[1] "that stretched away to remote shores which Drake had once called by the name of New Albion." Spotswood,[2] who was governor of Virginia, crossed the Blue Ridge at Swift Run Gap, about eighty miles southwest of Harper's Ferry, in 1716, and opened the way for the Scotch-Irish who flocked into the Shenandoah Valley, beginning in 1730. Spotswood's merry Knights of the Golden Horseshoe proved the Western country to be habitable. From the Shenandoah it was but a step to the valley of the Ohio, then to the Mississippi, and then over the Rockies to the Pacific Ocean.

The settlement of Oregon was but a part of the great Western movement of the Aryan race, a movement which still continues, though the boundless Pacific separates it from its ancient home. Floyd [3] of Virginia, who was tireless in his effort in behalf of Amer-

[1] From John Fiske's *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, vol. II, p. 383. A narrative of Spotswood's administration is there given, including the story of his exploration into the Shenandoah Valley in 1716.

[2] Alexander Spotswood (Spottiswood), lieutenant-governor of Virginia, 1710–22. He introduced iron manufacture into Virginia, did much for improvement of tobacco, and promoted William and Mary College. He was born at Tangier, Africa; served with Marlborough.

[3] See Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 306.

ican occupation of the Columbia River, said of the immigration which it was proposed to direct this way: "At most, it is only acting promptly, upon precisely the same principle which has directed the progress of population from the moment the English first landed in Virginia." [1] He might with equal truth have said that it was acting upon precisely the same principle which has directed the progress of the Aryan since he began to migrate. Francis Baylies,[2] of Massachusetts, said in Congress in the early stages of the Oregon question:

> As we reach the Rocky Mountains we would be unwise did we not pass the narrow space which separates the mountains from the ocean, to secure advantages far greater than the existing advantages of all the country between the Mississippi and the mountains. Sir, our national boundary is the Pacific Ocean. The swelling tide of our population must and will roll on until that mighty ocean limits our territorial empire. Then, with two oceans washing our shores, the commercial wealth of the world is ours, and imagination can hardly conceive the greatness, the grandeur and the power that await us.[3]

Few migrations in the history of man may justly be compared with the coming of the pioneers of 1843. John Minto [4] said, in his address at the pioneer reunion of 1876, that the men, women and children of 1843 "crossed an unsettled country covering twenty-eight degrees of longitude, every part of the way liable to attacks from savage foes." [5] Of all the movements of men, Mr. Minto thought the journey of the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan offers the closest parallel to the immigration of 1843, the Israelites "being

[1] This was uttered by Floyd December 17, 1822, in a speech in the House of Representatives (*Annals of Seventeenth Congress*, second session, cols. 408–09; whole speech, cols. 396–409). Floyd's bill for occupation of the Columbia River was considered in committee of the whole House. See Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 306.

[2] Francis Baylies (1783–1852), member of Congress from Massachusetts, 1821–27, minister to Brazil, wrote *History of Plymouth Plantation*. He was called, by J. Q. Adams, "one of the most talented and worthless men in New England."

[3] Speech of Francis Baylies, January 24, 1823, in House of Representatives. This quotation is in Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, vol. I, p. 358; Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. VI, p. 269.

[4] For note on John Minto, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 307.

[5] *Transactions* of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1876.

encumbered with their families; but there the distance was hundreds of miles, while this was thousands." [1] Spotswood was the pathfinder of the Alleghenies and Lewis and Clark were the pathfinders of the Rockies. The Irish-Scotch pioneers who filled the Shenandoah Valley were the predecessors and, to a certain degree, the ancestors of the pioneers who came to Oregon in 1843.

The Out-Reaching Pioneer

(*The Oregonian*, July 2, 1899)

The social civilization, the temper, manners and methods of our people are not only different from those of New England, but are not identical with those of the Middle West, or of the trans-Mississippi states that lie east of the Rocky Mountains. The explanation of this difference is found in the composite character of the original pioneers who were the founders of Oregon, in the physical environment of climate and soil, and largely in the fact that Oregon grew to be a state under circumstances of geographical and commercial isolation that obliged its people to rely on themselves, without the quick development that is obtained by constant daily attrition with the people of older and better equipped civilizations. Oregon became a state in 1859, Minnesota in 1859, Kansas in 1861; but neither Minnesota nor Kansas, before or after they attained statehood, had a condition of geographical and social isolation that was represented by Oregon, from its first serious white settlement in 1843 down to 1883, when Oregon may be said to have first shown visible marks of the daily impact and attrition of the civilization of the Atlantic seaboard and the Middle West, which began with the completion of the first great northern railway line across the continent.[2]

The original Oregon pioneers were a class of remarkable men, whose work has been accomplished and whose distinctive personality has either been gathered with the fleeting ghosts of the past, or is to-day met with in rare cases of individual survival — like the

[1] *Transactions* of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1876, p. 43.

[2] For progress of construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad, see pp. 125, 191, this volume.

bison, whose herds the rifles of these pioneers helped to extinguish.

The restlessness of the original pioneer, who began to cross the Mississippi after the purchase of Louisiana, was illustrated by Daniel Boone,[1] one of the first settlers of Kentucky, who emigrated to Missouri in his sixty-fifth year. If nearly a century of life could not quell the passion of the pioneer in Daniel Boone, we can easily understand why thousands of the descendants of the hardy men, who had conquered the forests of Ohio and Kentucky, hastened to cross the Mississippi and became the pioneers of the vast and then comparatively unexplored region. The hardy men who composed the Oregon pioneers must not be confounded with another hardy class of Kentucky born and bred men — the squatter, the sturdy, lawless vagabond, indolent, illiterate hunter and American gypsy whom Cooper sketches in his fine novel, *The Prairie*, under the name of Ishmael Bush, who, hating a civilization that was represented by sheriffs, surveyors and lawyers, left fertile Kentucky behind him, knowing that he and his family must cross torrents, deep morasses and arid wastes, peopled only by Indians and buffaloes, before he was likely to reach a land as smiling as the place of his birth.

The original type of the Oregon pioneer began his career in Virginia and New England, and he ended it when he reached the Pacific. It took him about two hundred and fifty years to conquer nature and the Indian from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Oregon pioneer, in his deeds, outran even the prophetic vision of the great American novelist who left him in Nebraska struggling his way along the Platte; and to-day Nebraska is ten years younger in statehood than Oregon, because the restless Oregon pioneer, compelled to halt at the Pacific, found time to turn round and form a state. The sterling merit of the Oregon pioneers of the forties may be measured from the fact that the Oregonians who went to Cali-

[1] Daniel Boone entered Kentucky in 1769, and founded Boonesborough in 1775. He led the pioneer settlement of Kentucky and Missouri. His sagacity in dealing with Indians, his defense of the pioneer settlements and his daring courage in penetrating beyond the frontier have made him immortal in Western annals. He detested the customs and law forms of civilized society, and was of highest integrity in all relations of private life.

fornia, on the discovery of gold in 1848–49, included a number of men like Peter Burnett, who obtained honorable distinction in the history of California. The gold fever swept a great immigration of all sorts to California within a few months, but, as a whole, it was far inferior in mental and moral quality to the men who laid the foundations of our state.

The Motive of the Oregon Pioneer

(*The Oregonian*, July 4, 1883)

It seems that our venerable friend, William H. Gray, is unnecessarily testy in his criticisms of W. Lair Hill's address to the pioneers.[1] Mr. Hill's remark that the early pioneers did not come to this country expressly to save it to the United States, was a general one. There may have been exceptions to it—that is to say, there may have been, and doubtless were, those to whom this was a thought. It was so, no doubt, with Mr. Gray himself, though he came to the country with a missionary party, and primarily to assist in missionary work. The dispute with England upon the boundary question became very important to the American pioneers upon their arrival here. It aroused their patriotism, and, as citizens of the United States, they became exceedingly anxious to keep the country under their national flag. But we incline to think that with most this was a patriotic afterthought, rather than the leading motive which brought the immigrants who came prior to the settlement of the boundary dispute. The party of 1839–40, referred to by Mr. Gray, consisting of Thomas Farnham, Sidney Smith, Obadiah Oakley, Amos Cook, Joseph Holman, Francis Fletcher and others,[2] was brought to Oregon chiefly by the same adventurous and restless spirit that carried the early settlers into Kentucky and Illinois. The party consisted of young men with no ties to keep them, and they pushed out to Oregon very much as Sir Henry Morton Stanley pushed his adventure in Africa. Once here, they naturally desired to save the country to the United States; and, beyond question, the importance of saving it became a great argument in and out of Con-

[1] See Compiler's Appendix, this volume, p. 307.
[2] See pp. 214, 229, 281, 309–15, this volume.

gress for the settlers' donation land law. In its turn this law attracted people to Oregon.

The Race Function of the Pioneer

(*The Oregonian*, December 4, 1898)

In the chain of evolution, what is the function of Oregon? In the development of the race, what is its part? In the plan of destiny, if there is a plan, what is its appointed place? These are questions which every lover of Oregon and student of Oregon history must ask himself many times. There is no answer to them, for the future none can pierce. All we can do is to reason from such analogies as we can establish, and speculate, so far as we can discover them, upon tendencies. In these directions very suggestive are the thoughts put forth in Professor Frederick G. Young's "Supplement" in the state university's first historical bulletin.[1] He puts forward no ambitious theories; he attempts no strained conclusions. He merely groups anew a few familiar facts, and, for the most part, leaves their bearing to be inferred. And if we call his paper merely "suggestive," that probably will be nothing less than to characterize it in accordance with its plan and purpose.

The subject of Professor Young's paper is, "A World Movement and a National Movement that had Important Relations to the Making of Oregon." The world movement is the exploration effect of the Renaissance. The national movement is westward immigration — the "winning of the West." The two movements are hardly connected, except in point of time, where at first view we would pronounce them widely separated. Yet, as the essayist shows, the closing events of the era of discovery and the early events of the immigration movement were contemporaneous. On the day that Kentucky was admitted as a state, Captain Robert Gray lay in the Columbia River he had just discovered and named. The banishment of the Northwest mystery[2] and the demarkation

[1] Professor Young has been secretary of the Oregon Historical Society since its organization in 1898.

[2] The mystery of the Northwest Passage.

of the Oregon coast were remote but true parts of the exploration movement that started westward from Europe three hundred years before. The important thing about these events and those that immediately succeeded them is that Anglo-Saxon civilization was established here. The tragedies of New Spain and the romances of New France were alike unenacted here. The only conflict was between England and the United States. For Oregon the best thing happened. While British Columbia became a dependent colony of a distant king, Oregon became a state — part of the Great American Republic.

Then there is the national movement. Of this, Oregon was the culmination. Successive waves came on, over the Alleghenies, to the Mississippi, to the "Great American Desert," to the Rockies, then to the coast, and the march was done. It is clear that a peculiar quality attaches to the most advanced line in this oncoming column. The less adventurous and determined were certain to be the earlier stopped. Many crossed to the Ohio Valley, not so many to the Missouri. The man who reached Nebraska with his family perhaps grew timid and disheartened. Only the most determined pushed on to the extreme limit.

Besides this winnowing process, there must have been increased presence of Americanism. The New England civilization was British. The sons of Ohio and Kentucky settlers were less British, more American. And when the children of a still later generation took up their westward march from Iowa and Missouri, they must be regarded as practically pure American stock. "In the Oregon pioneer," says Professor Young, "this process of Americanization had wrought its effects to the farthest degree. Issuing from the Columbia gorge or from one of the passes of the Cascades, he was, in a large sense, the most representative American of his time."

Here, then, is the genesis of the Oregon pioneer. He is not only the pioneer of pioneers, the gradually assorted vanguard, while the weak and timorous lagged behind; but he is the refined product of the immigration movement; the son of a pioneer, the grandson of a pioneer. The frontier has been his home for three generations. As

fast as the refinements of civilization caught up with him he has moved on. This is not to say that he is the better, on the whole, for his choice. This is not, evidently, for us to say. Professor Young does not say so. "Such a past," he courageously points out, "has no doubt meant a sacrifice of upward progress, but it as surely has been fraught with a special gain of resources and spontaneity. It has meant the retention of a more youthful spirit as a people. What we have so far missed in height, we have gained in breadth."

That is to say, virility has been acquired at the expense of culture. What the product will be, time must reveal. We know that for the Oregon pioneer the last-won wilderness was reserved; that he settled here accentuated as an American and as a frontiersman; one not easily to be daunted, to be decoyed by the blandishments of luxury, or imposed upon by tyranny. And, from such analogies as history affords, we have a right to expect that, as the time comes — as it may come — when, enfeebled at home and menaced from abroad, American civilization seems tottering to its fall, here, among these rugged mountains and along these vigorous streams and in the shadow of these sublime forests, liberty will linger to the last.

CHAPTER XI

THE EXTINCT PIONEER

The Nation's Last Pioneer Life in Oregon

(*The Oregonian*, June 16, 1888)

What was called pioneer life in our older states was rapidly passing away and becoming only a memory when Oregon was settled, but the movement to Oregon continued and prolonged it — on a small scale, it is true, but still it was the same here in spirit and method that it had been in Indiana, Illinois and Missouri and other states. True, the conditions here were different in many ways; for, except in the case of the few of the very earliest settlers of Oregon, there was not that necessity among the people of entire dependence on themselves; not that complete deprivation of all aids from the outside world, which our ancestors in the other states were obliged to meet. At most times, in the history of our early settlements in Oregon, some things could be bought when we had anything to buy with. The common staples were transported to the country by sea; our pioneers generally did not spin and weave the clothing they wore; such articles as nails, salt, sugar, glass and many others could often be had, and there was less need of resort, in Oregon, to the homely expedients and severe shifts of pioneer life than in the states which had been settled from twenty-five to fifty years earlier. Our access to the ocean kept up some degree of communication with the world of mankind, often at long intervals, it is true, but still we were not wholly shut out. Few, indeed, proposed, and still fewer attempted, to return to the places whence they came, for the double reason that all quickly became satisfied with Oregon, and the return journey was an undertaking hardly to be considered. The labor of getting here was quite enough.

The conditions of life never were so severe here as in the states once known as the region of the West, partly for the reasons we

have stated, and partly on account of the mildness of the climate, the exuberance of nature, and the freedom of the country from disease. It was not necessary to conquer Oregon with quinine, as Illinois and Indiana were conquered. The nearness of the ocean and our mountain air and mountains gave health to the people, and even those who were utterly worn by the toilsome journey over the plains soon were recuperated and restored. Our people quickly became deeply attached to the country. It is doubtful whether, in the history of any of our states, there has been a parallel to it. This attachment steadily grew upon all during the long years of comparative isolation, and the fact has long been proverbial that no one who has lived in Oregon for any length of time (and this includes Washington, of course), is ever content to live elsewhere.

A few persons are still living in Oregon who have been here fifty years. It is common to meet those who have been here forty-five years; but the number of these early comers is rapidly diminishing, and within a few years, under the decree of nature, all will be gone who can tell from personal experience the story of the settlement of Oregon. They who came thirty-five years ago are reckoned also among the pioneers, but when they came a foundation had been laid here, the country no longer seemed absolutely new, and through California, which had developed, in consequence of the discovery of gold, into a very important state, communication was possible, without much delay, with the rest of the world. Through California by that time a regular trade had been established; we had a steamer from San Francisco once or twice a month, and we felt, in fact, quite as near to the world as we wished to be. It was not till California obtained railway connection with the East, in 1869,[1] that we began to feel so remote and to long so much for nearer and closer intercourse for ourselves.

(*The Oregonian*, October 26, 1899)

THE original pioneer of America became extinct with the settlement of the Pacific Coast; indeed, we might say with the settlement

[1] The Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads.

Southwest Corner, First and Morrison Streets, Portland, in 1865

of Oregon; for the settlement of California was rapidly made by gold seekers, who never would have consented to join the ranks of the true pioneers. If we search American literature to-day for an accurate picture of the Western pioneer, we shall not find it in our later literature, which only describes the civilization of the new states.

To find an accurate picture of the restless natures that left the comparative peace and plenty of fertile Kentucky, Illinois, Ohio and Indiana, to settle or wander, like Tartars, over the steppes of the trans-Mississippi region, we must consult the pages of that greatest of American novelists, Cooper.[1] Cooper, in youth, had followed the sea, a life that cultivates the habit of close, accurate observation and stimulates the powers of description; and in the pages of Cooper's *Prairie*, first published in 1827, we find the best picture of the American pioneer, whose original is now extinct and for whom there can be no resurrection; for, when the American pioneer reached the Pacific, his peculiar mission was ended and his distinctive individuality died, even as dies the coral insect when the reef he builds rises above the water. Turning to the pages of Cooper, we find that while his powers of faithful and animated description never fail him, even his imagination did not anticipate the enormous change that has been wrought, by railroads, in the value of the prairies of the trans-Mississippi region.

(*The Oregonian*, June 21, 1885)

THE recent death of James W. Nesmith removed one of the most prominent figures in the pioneer history of Oregon.[2] But few of the immigrants of the forties are left, and those few are rapidly passing from view. The hardships they endured to make their homes here

[1] James Fenimore Cooper's novels of Western frontier settlement portray a phase of American life that has disappeared, and these works have lasting place in national literature. Among them are *The Last of the Mohicans*, *The Prairie*, *The Pioneers*, *The Deerslayer* and *The Pathfinder*. Cooper spent his boyhood on the pioneer frontier at Cooperstown, New York.

[2] James W. Nesmith died June 17, 1885. See note, vol. I, p. 129; also Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 308; vol. V, pp. 172–83.

and plant the foundations of the future state, their customs and manner of life, their rude pleasures and all the interesting facts of their lives, are rapidly becoming fading memories. The immigrant of later years, whose coming has been by railroad car or ocean steamer, can have little conception of the pioneer's advent, or of the pioneer. The same class of adventurous spirits who laid the foundations of our state can be traced in unbroken succession to the handful of hardy men who built the log fort at Boonesborough; and, in reading the history of one, we may also perceive that of the other. From the Atlantic to the Pacific they have traveled, but here they must stop. The youngest people and civilization of the world are here face to face with what is probably the oldest, and the pioneer's work is done. The history of this phase of civilization is, therefore, of the greatest interest, and our sketches, coming as they do from the lips and pens of those who participated in the scenes they describe, form a compendium that is invaluable to all who care to learn of the founders of our state.[1]

Oregon a Distinct Settlement

(*The Oregonian*, May 27, 1886)

In his response to the toast, "The State of Oregon," at the Queen's dinner on Monday night, Judge Matthew P. Deady put, in fewer words and in better shape than we have seen it before, the great, important fact in the settlement of this country of Oregon. He said:

> Oregon did not grow up, leaning on the arm of an elder sister, or become organized as an annex to a neighboring state, like the members of the Union north and south of the Ohio River. It was not formed by the mere gradual and unpremeditated overflow of population from one degree of longitude to another, as oil spreads over paper. But, like Virginia and Massachusetts and other colonies on the Atlantic seaboard, founded two centuries earlier, it was, from the beginning, a distinct and separate settlement of self-governing and self-directing people.

This is the particular fame of Oregon. It was an independent country, founded by an adventurous and hardy people. It has a

[1] For reminiscences of the songs of the pioneers, see *The Oregonian*, March 17, 1904, p. 7, by John Minto.

history particularly its own, a history as romantic and inspiring as that of Massachusetts or Virginia. Its influences have profoundly affected the character and conduct of our people, and it will ever be an inspiration to those who occupy this country. We complain very commonly of the slow development of Oregon, but the time will come when it will be understood that slow growth is the safer and better growth. We have had no such incoming of new population as to overwhelm established social order and to supersede stability with uncertainty.

If the earlier settlements on the Atlantic Coast had been followed by waves of general immigration sufficiently great to alter the customs and manners of the country every succeeding decade, we should now see a very different and a much less worthy people. But settlement was slow; each season's small incoming was thoroughly digested and assimilated. The country grew in the forms and after the manner of its wholesome beginning. So may it be with Oregon.

CHAPTER XII

THE PIONEER CHARACTER

Two Types of Pioneers — Farmers, Traders [1]

(*The Oregonian*, June 15, 1887)

A community of long growth is an individual of many-sided character. That character, though often inharmonious and contradictory in appearance, yet may be in reality quite consistent and homogeneous. In our own case — we speak now of the general community usually described as the Pacific Northwest — there has been, from the beginning of a half-century ago, steady growth, upon easily traced lines, into distinctive character. A community planted as ours was planted, and having slow development by gradual accretion and assimilation, possesses its own traits. It is not so "peculiar" as to be isolated from the rest of mankind, and yet it is a copy of no other community in the world.

In thought, method, feeling, character, we have grown to what we are by the necessary law of development; we are such as we are because the germ of the community, planted by the pioneers, has developed into this form through past and present conditions of situation and environment. But the original germ has determined the character of the whole. The life of the pioneers absorbed and assimilated that of the people who kept dropping into the country after the pioneers came to it; the rush was not so great as to overbear the original character, and time enough was afforded for very

[1] This article was published on Pioneer Day, which has been celebrated annually in June. The date, June 15, was suggested by Stephen F. Chadwick, in a letter dated November 19, 1873, to J. W. Grim, then vice president of the Oregon Pioneer Association. June 15 is the date of the treaty of 1846 (George H. Burnett in address in 1891; *The Oregonian*, June 17, 1891; *Transactions* of Oregon Pioneer Association for 1891, p. 32). The first meeting of the Oregon Pioneer Association was held at Butteville October 18, 1873. The officers elected were: F. X. Matthieu, president; J. W. Grim, vice president; W. H. Rees, secretary; E. C. Cooley, treasurer.

complete absorption into the original mass of the materials that were slowly added to the population of the country.

Hence it happens that this community of the Pacific Northwest has a very pronounced individual character; and that character, with certain modifications, is what was given it by the pioneers.

The early citizens of Oregon were of two distinct classes — frontiersmen and agriculturists from the Southern and Western states, and tradespeople from New York and the New England states. The former were in reality the pioneers, and the latter were commercial adventurers who followed them. Both were necessary to the development of the country, or, rather, to the existence of the settlement here. They shared together the privations of isolation and the hardships of life in a rude country, and they are entitled alike to the honors due to the founders of a new state. The Southern and Western people, who came across the plains with ox teams, outnumbered many times over the New England people who came in ships, and, from the beginning, they have been the ruling force in the country, furnishing the models for its political, social and religious life, giving tone and character to its civilization. Like the people of Ohio and Indiana, we are a transplanted Southern people modified by different surroundings and a different climate, by a social equality unknown in the South and by more general education.

The Southerner's affection for his own has been preserved among us to almost whimsical degree. The fellowship, which had its beginning in the hardships mutually endured, has survived the day of hardships, and sweetens life among us in a way we scarce appreciate, and which, perhaps, we would not understand at all if not constantly reminded of it by newcomers. If this is a fault, as we sometimes hear charged, it is a good fault. In some instances it may delay what we call progress, but by keeping alive among us the spirit of sweet humanity, it gives us results perhaps quite as valuable as the results of progress. We trust the day may never come when, between one Oregonian and another, there will not be a trace of that sentimental interest which makes a man like his neighbor better than a stranger.

Merits of the Pioneer Spirit

(*The Oregonian*, April 23, 1899)

The charge against the pioneer spirit, of which a good deal has been heard lately, is that it is an influence unfavorable to a highly organized and coöperative industrial development. This theory is based upon the extreme individualism of pioneer life — its lack of coöperative dependence, its freedom from systematic labors and its perfect personal liberty. The demonstration of it, we think, is found in the tardiness of the Willamette Valley in the matter of industrial progress. Other countries, less favorably situated for agricultural and other forms of organized industry, take on new ways and get ahead rapidly in population and wealth, while the Willamette Valley moves along in the old grooves, being to-day in essentials largely what it was thirty years ago, namely, a pioneer country.

It cannot, we think, be denied that the pioneer spirit makes a slow country in a material sense; but there are other interests in community life far above increase of commodities and multiplication of towns; and it is in its relation to these higher interests that the pioneer spirit is seen in its best character. If it be asked what has the pioneer spirit done for Oregon, it is only necessary to point to the conditions which differentiate Oregon from the other Pacific states. At the very threshold of our organic social life, while the criminal element and the vigilance committee in turn controlled the affairs of neighboring communities, there was created for Oregon by the morality, the intelligence and the force of its pioneer population, a provisional system embodying everything which modern statecraft deems essential to the welfare of a people.[1] Framed, with small ceremony, by frontiersmen in buckskin breeches, to meet the necessities of a handful of people in a wilderness, it was made to accord with the conclusions of the most advanced political science. For public and private rights, it afforded complete protection. It met every want of the time; it suppressed not

[1] The provisional government of 1843.

alone crime, but, in large measure, vice as well; while the cost of administration was relatively a mere fraction of what states commonly pay for worse service. If the capacity for wise self-government be in truth, as it is declared to be, the highest virtue of a people, multiplied honors are due to the pioneer spirit which created and accepted the provisional system of government — a system related, as the parent is related to the child, to the state government which continues to serve our needs.

The social and moral coördination which is so notable a feature of Oregon life — expecially notable when Oregon is contrasted with neighboring communities — is a direct achievement of the pioneer spirit. The sympathy which makes of Western Oregon a homogeneous community; the mutual understanding which checks the energies of social disorder before it rises to the degree of social menace; the friendliness of one "old Oregonian" for another; the respect for leadership which has continuously recognized and supported certain men of large talents in quasi-public relationships — these qualities have their foundation in the pioneer spirit. It is, too, the pioneer spirit which makes the fine social austerity which so pervades the moral atmosphere. It frowns upon a sensational and unclean press; it banishes gambling, even in its minor forms, from respectable circles; it knows not the lottery ticket; it ostracizes the trade in liquors and all who have to do with it. Of course, all this is provincial; that is undeniable; but a provincialism which has saved Oregon from public extravagance, which has built up its commercial credit, which has protected it against the domination of the socialistic political demagogue and the machinations of the professional "boomer," which has made education universal, which has conserved the good offices of religion and which has promoted the higher interests of civilization — such a provincialism is a saving salt which any community may thank God for. Oregon has it, and it is to the pioneer spirit that Oregon owes it.

Oregon is curiously faithful to those who redeemed it from the wilderness. Since 1856 the population of the state has multiplied

fivefold. Every country and every race have contributed to its expansion; but the forces which started with the earlier years have continued to dominate. Habits, planted at the beginning, still rule the land. A thousand influences have intruded themselves, but they have bent to the conditions which existed before them. We have now, at the end of the century, a very different Oregon from the Oregon of the fifties; but it has been wrought out by evolution, not by revolution. The Oregon of to-day is the true descendant of the earlier Oregon, with the family likeness strong, with the family traits predominating. The pioneer makes, now as ever, the spirit of the country. Others have prospered, in a material sense, more largely than the pioneer. But from him have come, broadly speaking, the lawgivers, the teachers and the preachers of the country. This is the pioneer's land, and his spirit rules it. And the land might be far worse.

CHAPTER XIII

CONDITIONS OF PIONEER LIFE

Oregon in the Early Time [1]

It does not occur to me, when I am asked to write an article for *The Jewish Tribune*, that I ought to write especially about the Jewish people. It might savor, or seem to savor, of an effort to extol or glorify or patronize the race. The Jewish people rest on their history. They need no vindication. Their history is mingled with that of the civilized world, and cannot be eliminated from it.[2]

Ideas are growths of time. To the progress of the world, through the ages, one race, or people, or nation, contributes one part of the motive force; another contributes another. Since the possibilities of human nature are infinite, there will be countless contributions, through succeeding ages, to the common stock, yet no age will be the transcript of another.

Man everywhere is profoundly affected by the situations in which he is placed. Climate and mountains and skies and seas, and the productions of the earth, the common mother from whom we all derive our life, profoundly affect the human race, in all situations. Everything changes, except the fundamental laws of morality and righteousness. Even these it has required long time to settle or establish. But, as Cicero, in *De Republica*, in one of his inspired bursts of eloquence, remarks, the law of our moral being is everywhere the same. It is not one thing at Rome and another at Athens. But always and everywhere the same.

An effort was made to formulate the whole line of human duty in the Ten Commandments. The effort was fashioned on the

[1] Published in *The Jewish Tribune*, Portland, Oregon, December 17, 1909.

[2] For narrative of Jewish pioneers in the Pacific Northwest, see *The Oregonian*, December 3, 1903, p. 10.

religious feeling as well as on the moral feeling of that day. Only in part does the religious concept suit present time. But the moral concept, in its main features, is everlasting. Manners and customs change, and the ethical view undergoes variations. In different races are different traits of character. The geographical situation, political and social differences, the climate of a country and its soil, its products and the conflict of new forces introduced into it, make divergencies and differences. By soil and climate and productions our country was divided into two parts; between which adverse local political and social ideas, fostered in the Southern section, where slavery would pay as an industrial system, in the stage of growth which then had been reached, produced the American Civil War. It was inevitable; because the conditions that produced it were active, aggressive, and of long standing.

But I am not to pursue this theme. It is only introductory and incidental. Asked to write an article for *The Jewish Tribune*, it has occurred to me that I might use what has been said already as an introduction to some of the personal recollections of my youth; for Oregon is a child of the pioneer life of our country, and Oregon has been affected profoundly by the pioneer conditions of the whole country, and by the general movement and conflict which has made the country what it is. Our Oregon of to-day is the resultant of many forces.

My earliest recollections go back to conditions in the Upper Mississippi Valley. There, threescore years ago, the people were just beginning to emerge from the conditions of pioneer life. The chief agency that affected this change was improved methods of communication. On these all progress depends. People in isolation adapt themselves to their circumstances. They make themselves content with what they are and with what they have. They become very serious, they are tied to a deep religiosity, yet become extremely narrow and provincial. They come to think they "know it all." Oregon got this notion in the days of its long isolation. It has not yet wholly recovered. Too fond it is still of the crude and restricted ideas that grew up in its early time. Man, centered

on himself, always looks with suspicion — usually with disdain — upon the larger outward world.

In the middle of the Upper Mississippi Valley, in the states of Kentucky, Missouri, Indiana and Illinois, the people, at the time my observations began, were just beginning their change from the first pioneer conditions to the more varied life that resulted from growth of population and from partial subjugation of the original forces of nature, to the slow advance of town life. They, through whom the change was effected mostly, came from the older states — from New England and New York. They brought Yankee customs into the West. They were mercantile traders or speculators, mostly; at first they were a class apart from the rough pioneers. They did not like the rough life of the woods or farms, but took up the professions or "kept store." They showed some study and refinement of dress, managed to afford better furniture — though indeed it was poor enough — and held their religious meetings quietly, while the pioneers liked the Cumberland Presbyterian revivals or Methodist camp meetings. There was little money. The hospitality of pioneer life caused things to be shared almost in common. In going about the wayfarer stayed overnight at any house he met, and was always welcome. Here and there an Eastern man — a man from the East — had set up a place where he kept travelers overnight, and charged them for the service. Such incidents were the talk of the neighborhood.

When we came to Oregon we found the conditions much changed. In many ways life here, sixty years ago, was more primitive than it was in the early times in Illinois and Missouri. But in others it was far more advanced. The difference was due to our proximity in Oregon to the sea. Navigation of the sea has always been a main factor in the promotion and growth of civilization.

The early settlement of the Middle West was based wholly on nature. Garments were homespun. There were no nails or glass, and the fewest books. In the earliest settlement of Oregon, down to 1850, it was the same. But the discovery of gold in California started an active movement to our Pacific Coast, not only by

land, but by sea. We could get the world's commodities here which could not be had then, or scarcely at all, in the interior of Illinois or Missouri. Before we began to grow wheat in Oregon sufficient to supply our bread, we got flour from Chili; beans from Chili, moreover, and sugar from Manila. From Oregon, even in that early day, we could get a view, through commerce, of the wide world. In the first and last analysis all progress of mankind depends on the sea; for the sea is the medium of universal communication. And probably all life on our planet began in the sea.

Life here corresponded to the primitive conditions established by the contact of the new forces, introduced by man, with the forces of nature found here, yet hitherto unused. This contact with primitive nature, experienced by the pioneers, produced an exaltation of the spirits that cannot now be repeated or imagined. It was a situation in contact with the freshness of nature, wherein very being was bliss. It belongs to memory, and never can be realized again.

Unrelated opinions of all sorts grew rank and ran wild in this situation. They were uncorrected by influence of the outer world. It is this fact that made older Oregon what it was, and makes it so difficult to correct or to modify the ideas established then. Through active communication with the larger world the change is coming now, but still it is extremely difficult to move the Oregon people of the olden time out of their ways of thought and action. There is a solid opposition that may not seem to resist, yet is practically immovable. Hence new methods of industry and culture gain but slowly. Yet they are making sure progress.

The political opinions, social usages and industrial methods of the early time conformed strictly to the conditions that pertained or belonged to such situation. Everything was a spontaneous outgrowth; but nature ruled over all. Social life was free and easy, where there were no classes and no social gradations. Opinions on religious and social questions were cast in very much the same mold, all about us; and independence of thought and action, on such subjects, was almost unknown. Only on political questions

was real difference of opinion asserted. This difference came, on the one side, from our Northern people; on the other, from our Southern settlers. The Kansas-Nebraska struggle in politics was fought in Oregon as in Massachusetts and Missouri — even though we were at a continental distance from the scene of conflict.

Native life in this country, at the time when the pioneers came, was adjusted strictly to the environment. The Indian probably had reached his limit of progress. Without assistance from outside sources, man in America could have got on no further. He had not the means of additional attainment. It was necessary to have help from a world beyond him. Nature had done little for the Western Hemisphere, except in giving fertility to the soil. Here were no animals that could be domesticated and made to do the work which man required. Think what this means. It means that the basis of agricultural life, which is the beginning of all civilization, was denied to primitive man in America. The horse, the ox and cow, the sheep and pig, brought from Europe, were to constitute the basis of pioneer life, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. On the domestic animals we depended absolutely, in the settlement of the Oregon Country. We could do nothing without them.

Except in the Puget Sound region, the Indians in the Oregon Country never were so numerous as they had been in some other parts of our American territory; nor were they at all an agricultural class. They lived on game and fish and the wild fruits of the country; and for such a life Puget Sound was the Indian's true paradise. As a rule, too, they were less ferocious there, and less troublesome to the whites, than in other Pacific Coast regions. Yet there was one fierce Indian outbreak at Puget Sound.[1] Contact with the whites, in various parts of the Oregon Country, which had begun with the Lewis and Clark expedition, introduced conditions which, within a few years, began the decimation of the Indian tribes. It is believed that two-thirds of the Indians had perished before 1852, and soon after that only a small moiety of

[1] In 1855–56.

the entire race remained. Intermixture of the whites with the Indians was not favorable to either race; and, with few exceptions, the vitality of the mixed offspring was low. Yet there are persons among us in whose veins runs Indian blood, who have sound physical constitutions and excellent moral fiber; and Indian blood exists in individuals in whom it would not be noticed at all.

The social customs of the pioneers of Oregon were those mainly of the states from which they came, modified, however, by conditions and peculiarities that spring up in every new country. Change of situation always has, upon a people, an effect of this kind. People who came to Oregon did not do things in just the same ways they had been accustomed to do them in their former states; and the change often caused closest friends who had come to the country together to draw apart. It is one of the phenomena of the ascendancy of nature over man. Change of feeling and of disposition had been effected by so radical a change of situation.

In early Oregon there was no land speculation, as there had been in the states of the Mississippi Valley. Doubtless it was prevented by the donation land laws, which made ample provision for every settler, yet required him to live on the land four years; by which time each one had become attached to the soil and did not wish to sell. Again, the future value of land was scarcely foreseen then; the value of timber not at all. It was, indeed, well understood that there were great natural resources here; but the demand for consumption of them, or the modern market, was unknown. Many towns were founded, but it was scarcely expected that any one of them would become a great city. The effect of this impression is seen to-day in the manner in which Portland is laid out. It is a village plan, rather than a city plan. The small block was intended for a single house and its vegetable garden.[1]

The wealth lying in woods and fisheries passed unnoticed; but, after the discovery of gold in California, demand for lumber there created some traffic between San Francisco and the Columbia River and Puget Sound. The sawmills, however, were of the most

[1] The block — 200 by 200 feet — contains slightly less than one acre of land.

primitive description, and their output was extremely small. Squared timber was prepared with the ax. Very small vessels sufficed for the trade, and their north-bound cargoes consisted of provisions and the ordinary goods required in pioneer life. Some wheat was grown in the Oregon Country at an early day, but not nearly enough for the demand that ensued after rapid settlement began. Five dollars a bushel was no unusual price for wheat, and pork in the barrel, shipped round Cape Horn, was a great price. Money, after 1850, when California's gold began to appear, was comparatively abundant, as may be inferred from the prices of commodities. Oregon set up a mint of its own,[1] but pieces stamped by private firms in California were a long time the principal money supply. Gold dust was, however, often weighed out for payments. In some localities this, indeed, lasted many years. The treasures of gold found in California stimulated the search for supply in Oregon, which, in various localities, was rewarded largely. During many years the country produced little for sale but gold; and it is an economic law that this product alone is never a source of permanent wealth to the country that yields it. It is spent for consumption; and exhaustion of the mines leaves the producing country no richer — or but little richer — than if the gold had remained in the beds where nature had placed it.

Soon after the settlement began, the mercantile class became active here; for the mercantile class also was an important factor. Indeed, the mercantile class came early for trade with the natives — the Astor people first, then Wyeth, and the Hudson's Bay Company as more permanent traders. When the American settlement began, the chances of profit in trade opened opportunity to all who noted them and could take advantage of them. Foundations of not a few fortunes and families were laid thus — which continue to this present day, and undoubtedly will have much longer continuance. The Jewish mercantile spirit, ever alert for new opportunity, appeared in Oregon at an early time. It was active in every town. At Portland, Vancouver, Olympia, Lafayette,

[1] For details of the "beaver" coinage, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. 1, p. 308.

Salem, Roseburg, Oregon City, it pushed to the front. From the general mercantile class it was more distinct than it is now. That was because the agricultural pioneer, who lived on the lap of nature, did not understand at the time the higher civilization, represented then by the mercantile class. *The Oregonian* then was full of sneers about the Jews. The whole mercantile class, indeed, was regarded with suspicion, with distrust, and with consequent dislike, by the provincial pioneer mind. It is described with accuracy by Mr. Roosevelt in one of his volumes on the settlement of the West in these words:

> The pioneer, in his constant struggle with poverty, was prone to look with puzzled anger at those who made more money than he did, and whose lives were easier. The backwoods farmer or planter of that day looked upon the merchant with the same suspicion now felt by his successor for the banker or the railroad magnate. He did not quite understand how it was that the merchant, who seemed to work less hard than he did, should make money; and, being ignorant and suspicious, he usually followed some hopelessly wrong-headed course when he tried to remedy his wrongs.[1]

Some pictures have long-lasting colors. Here and there men then engaged in mercantile business who had no knowledge whatever of the requirements of the business. They sold their land and engaged in trade; supposing they might compete with and triumph over others to whom knowledge of the business had come through experience, or as an hereditary possession. They failed, of course. They knew nothing about the laws of trade, of buying and selling, of credit among the farmers or of credit at bank. But they thought they could imitate the store keeper, and this was the height of their purpose or ambition. It was an exceedingly primitive state of society that could produce examples of this kind.

Pioneer Hardships and Pleasures[2]

(*The Oregonian*, June 16, 1899)

It is true that hardship and privation, in the sense that these terms were applied to the settlement of the Middle West, were, in a de-

[1] See Theodore Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*, vol. IV, p. 244.

[2] This article appears to have been written by Mrs. Catharine A. Coburn,

gree, unknown to the pioneers of Oregon. In the first place, the relative mildness of the climate forbade the suffering from cold which pinched the bodies and congealed the energies of the pioneers of the Ohio Valley; and, again, the supply dépôts of the Hudson's Bay Company preceded actual settlement in the farming districts by some years, while the occasional ship, that felt its way successfully across the bar of the Columbia, supplied with its varied cargo many needs of the settlers.

The Reverend Samuel Parker, who made the journey, in pursuit of the missionary idea, across the continent between the 14th of March, 1835, and the 16th of October of the same year, traveling continuously and reaching Fort Vancouver on the latter date, relates that he found there "a hospitable people and the comforts of life," [1] and that during all the months of his journey — the last fifty-six days with Indians only — he "had not suffered a single day for want of food." [2] Later on, when domiciled for the winter at the post, he spoke of occupying well-furnished rooms, of having all the attendants he could wish, access to as many valuable books as he had time to read, opportunities to ride out and see the surrounding country, and, in addition to all these, "the society of gentlemen, enlightened, polished and sociable." [3] Remembering the date of this experience, this account seems wonderful, since at that period settlers in many sections of the Ohio Valley were still living lives of the most bitter contention against unsubdued nature.

Of course, the settlers that followed the missionary pathfinders, in yearly increasing numbers, after 1840, did not meet with the full-handed hospitality that fell to the lot of Parker; yet it is a matter of record that Dr. John McLoughlin, and other men of the Hudson's Bay Company, befriended the helpless and contributed to

but bears touches of Mr. Scott. For description of pioneer pastimes, by John Minto, see *The Oregonian*, October 14, 1900, p. 30; description of pioneer dance of 1850 at Oregon City, *ibid.*, March 25, 1900, p. 32; pioneer pastimes, described by Thomas N. Strong, *ibid.*, November 11, 1900, p. 22; baseball, *ibid.*, July 12, 1903, p. 17; November 8, 1903, p. 22; November 29, 1903, p. 40.

[1] See Parker's *Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains*, chap. VIII.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, chap. XI.

the needs of the destitute in many instances during these and succeeding years, and that a supply dépôt was maintained at Fort Vancouver and afterwards at Oregon City, which was of incalculable benefit to the earliest pioneers. Very few, if any, now remain who shared the hospitality of Dr. McLoughlin in these far-away days; yet, in dealing with the pioneer era, history will be true to his part in making the first winter tolerable and even enjoyable to many who, without the consideration shown them, would have felt more than the pinch of hunger.

In the meantime, the state-builders were at work, and the missionaries had not disregarded temporal matters in the pursuit of things spiritual, so that when the very oldest of our now living pioneers pitched their tents in the beautiful wilderness of "the Oregon territory," they were able, in a very short time, to compass the ordinary comforts of home. Perhaps it is not too much to say that the real hardship of pioneer life in Oregon was the isolation induced and indeed rendered inevitable by the sparse population, and intensified to some extent by the donation land law, which gave to each settler 640 acres of land. If ever land greed could be excused (and whether excused or not it is one of the characteristics of our race), it was when it was given the chance to feed upon the smiling areas of the Willamette Valley under this law — and feed it did, though the farming interests of the valley have as yet scarcely recovered from the effects of the banquet at which each guest was encouraged to swallow more than he could digest.

But this is all of the past. The wide areas between homes that made daily intercourse among neighbors impossible; primitive methods of agriculture for the output of which there was no market; sparse settlements over which the dread of the always possible Indian outbreak hovered; the long intervals between "states' mails," made anxious by the probabilities of death and disaster "at home" during the period of silence; the haunting specter of homesickness that moved about the house and the clearing, are all of the past. These were the disagreeable realities of pioneer life. Dominating them all was the genial spirit of hospitality which iso-

lation invokes, the gratified spirit of adventure which is the mainspring of much pioneer endeavor, the feeling of freedom which a survey of the wide expanse created, and finally the contentment which comes from a familiarity with surroundings and the gratification of the home-building instinct.

Simplicity of Pioneer Life [1]

(*The Oregonian*, June 19, 1902)

While hardship was not lacking in the experience of the pioneers of Oregon and Washington, it did not approach in severity the sufferings of the first colonists of New England, or even those of Virginia. This difference of hardship experienced was not due simply to the fact that the pioneers of New England and those of the Pacific Coast of Oregon were separated in time by more than two hundred years. It was due chiefly to the difference in the severity of the climate. The New England winter was so fearfully severe that the women and children died during the first two years like a flock of infected sheep. So far as the Indians were concerned, the first settlers of New England had no trouble for more than fifty years after their first settlement, outside of the brief war of Connecticut with the Pequots. The sufferings of the New England colonists were due to the severity of the climate, the poverty of the soil and the long and dangerous passage by sea to the mother land. There were other hardships to which they were exposed by the hostility of the French and their Indian allies in Canada, but these ended with the conquest of Canada.

The pioneers of the Pacific Coast, who made the transcontinental passage to Oregon with emigrant trains, not seldom suffered great hardships before they reached their destination; they suffered considerably by Indian warfare in 1855–56; but, on the whole, the pioneers of Oregon and Washington had reason to congratulate themselves that they had reached a country well timbered, well watered, with a mild climate and a fertile soil. In Western Oregon,

[1] This article bears evidences of Lucius Bigelow and Mr. Scott.

if worst came to worst, cattle could live through the winter without much shelter and without stall feeding. The waters teemed with valuable food fishes; the woods were full of game; the soil was well suited for fruit raising — apples, pears, plums, cherries and berries of all kinds. There was no lack of forest wealth; fuel was plenty and timber cheap and accessible. Furthermore, the pioneer of Oregon and Washington was in easy communication by water with San Francisco, and, by 1850, he had a fair market for his grain and his lumber. It is doubtful whether any body of pioneers ever found more fortunate surroundings than those of Western Oregon and Washington. They had a mild winter, which demanded but small feeding of stock; they had a cool summer; they had plenty of water; plenty of fish and game; plenty of timber trees, a soil suited to grain, vegetables and fruits of all sorts. There was no reason why our pioneers at an early day should not, for mere physical reasons of environment, soil, climate, wood and water, fish and game, have been a comparatively happy and contented people compared with the Puritan pioneers of the North Atlantic Coast.

But there was one supreme reason why the Pacific pioneer was a more fortunate and happier man than the Puritan pioneer. He was a man absolutely free. No theocracy tyrannized over him; no Sunday laws plagued him; no theological death's head sat at every feast. The pioneers of the Pacific Coast were a composite class of bold, adventurous men from all parts of the country. Some of them came from Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Virginia, Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland; some few of them came directly from New England, but they soon became deodorized of New England Puritanism if they brought any with them.

(*The Oregonian*, June 16, 1881)

We agree with an Ohio journal in its strictures on the recent proceedings of the pioneer society of that state — that there is one feature of these gatherings that needs to be reformed. The speakers almost uniformly dwell upon the "privations," the "dangers" and the "hardships" of pioneer days. These speeches and addresses,

sometimes made by the younger men, are frequently misleading, and, though not absolutely untrue, tend to create a false impression as to the material and social condition of our fathers. True, there were for very many great trials and hardships in the toilsome march across the plains; but even that journey was to most people less formidable and difficult than many now would suppose it. A great deal depends on the way we look at these things. To persons studious of their ease and mindful of good living it could hardly be a pleasure trip, even under best conditions. But to those who never knew any life other than that of labor and hardship, with intervals mayhap of real privation, the journey was not terrible, nor in many cases even irksome.

Let us call it a privation to be compelled to build houses, barns, stables, etc., without sawed lumber, nails, metallic latches and hinges—in fact, wholly without metal of any kind, except the iron and steel in axes and other implements used in dressing the timber. Say it was a privation to be compelled to live for years in cabins without glass windows. Admit that it was a privation to be compelled to grind or bruise wheat by hand, to be occasionally without salt, or obliged to depend for supply on evaporating sea water, or, at a somewhat later time, to go twenty or thirty miles to mill — what then? Our fathers and ourselves did not take these matters so seriously. Our habitations did indeed lack many comforts and conveniences, but that was no special privation after all, since very few of us had ever known anything better. Though our mothers and sisters were not arrayed in those days like the lilies of the field, they were comfortably clad, and had no reason to be ashamed. Food, in the main, was ample in quantity and variety. After the Indians were subdued, now many years ago, our dangers were few. Except, indeed, on the outskirts of the early settlements, and barring an occasional raid in later times, we have not had much trouble; and the sum total of these troubles and dangers has been comparatively small. Our stories and traditions about these things are apt to run into mythological narration, and require to be brought under the sober judgment of history. True, individuals were killed,

and even families were massacred. But, on the whole, we had as little difficulty and danger here as had been encountered in the settlement of other and older states, and perhaps less.

Except on a few occasions, our danger from the Indians in early days was much less than present dangers from tramps, vagabonds and criminals. We had little or no fear of thieves or burglars. People slept soundly with unlocked and unbolted doors, and though tools and implements were scarce, costly, and difficult to procure, they left them "lying around loose," never fearing that they would be "taken, stolen and carried away" by some petty thief. The vicious dogs of this "civilized" time are as much to be feared as wolves, bears, panthers and catamounts that lived in the days of the pioneers. True, a good deal of hard work was to be performed. If work is to be regarded as a hardship, then the pioneers suffered hardships; but not to a greater extent than millions are compelled to endure to-day. They rose early in the morning, but they went to bed early at night. When tired of work they sat down and rested whenever they chose, and they went hunting and fishing at pleasure, and with their recreations they were far more satisfied than people are with the picnics and pleasure excursions and stale shows and cheap gauds of to-day, which are supplied to satiety and induce weariness and disgust.

On the whole, the pioneer days were about as good as any for happiness, contentment and virtue. People were not in that tearing hurry, then, which consumes their existence now. The simplicity of their lives, as we look back upon them, was in refreshing contrast with the multiplied and studied contrivances that surround life to-day. But every age has its own characteristics, and we cannot project one age into another. It requires all these phases of life, at different times and under different circumstances, to give us the full development of man. And there is sincerity yet, though it sometimes seems almost hopeless to reach it through the ceremonies, shams and conventionalities by which the boasted social progress of the times obscures it and hedges it in.

CHAPTER XIV

CONTRASTS — OREGON AND WASHINGTON

The Faster Growth of Washington

(*The Oregonian*, May 31, 1908)

It was natural and necessary that Western Oregon should have been the first part of the Oregon Country to attract settlers. The Willamette Valley was a paradise for pioneers. Nature had endowed it with every possible attraction. Moreover, through the rivers it was accessible from the sea. The first settlers were agriculturists, and the valley of Willamette River opened to them finer opportunities than elsewhere in the region of Oregon. California was still Mexican territory. The Puget Sound country, though accessible from the sea, was not accessible from the land, and the pioneers, making their way across the continent, were unable to reach it. The early immigrants could not remain in the interior region, in the upper valley of the Columbia, for communication with the sea was necessary, and the Indians of the interior country were more inclined to hostility. The immigrants therefore spread over the Willamette and other valleys of Western Oregon, and later passed into the Puget Sound country from the Columbia, by way of the Cowlitz.

Expulsion of the missionaries from the upper valley of the Columbia by hostile Indians [1] left that great region without settlement for many years; till finally discoveries of gold took a white population there and slowly gave it permanent establishment. Military

[1] The massacre of Dr. Whitman, his wife and others, at Waiilatpu (near Walla Walla), occurred November 29–30, 1847. This terminated Protestant missionary efforts in the interior country, until after 1859. For names of the victims, see *The Oregonian*, February 17, 1897, p. 4, by George H. Himes; *Transactions* of Oregon Pioneer Association for 1896, p. 113. For narrative of the massacre, see *The Oregonian*, July 17, 1894, p. 8; July 21, 1894, p. 9; November 30, December 1, 1897. For narrative of the release of the captives by Peter Skene Ogden, see *The Oregonian*, March 29, 1881, p. 1. See also Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. xi, pp. 275–77, and pp. 223–32, this volume.

posts protected the people, and, after the railroad came, the population grew rapidly and towns and cities appeared. Extension of railroads across the mountains to Puget Sound led to quick and enormous development of the country about that great estuary, and to creation of ports of commerce there.[1] But Western Oregon, the seat of the original settlement, has made slow progress. Portland is its one large town. Development of the coast region of Oregon has lagged from want of roads and railroads, and for the like reason the ports of the coast region have been neglected. Progress, indeed, all the time has been made by Western Oregon, but it has been slower than might have been supposed; while Eastern Oregon yet contains an immense region that scarcely has been more than visited by explorers, or at best partly occupied by herdsmen.

There is a difference between Eastern Oregon and Eastern Washington, much in favor of the latter. The elevation of Eastern Washington is much less; it is better watered; the Columbia River traverses the whole breadth of it, and, with its tributaries, has cut down the general level of the country below that of Eastern Oregon. Again, the great railroad systems, terminating at Puget Sound, have covered Eastern Washington with a network of lines and branches; while in Eastern Oregon there has been no railroad to compare with it. These facts explain why Eastern Oregon has fallen, in its development, far behind Eastern Washington. In Western Washington there is little agriculture compared with that of Western Oregon, but exploitation of the resources of timber and coal has been much greater; and Puget Sound has the bulk of the Alaskan trade. The population of Oregon, by the census of 1900, was 413,536; that of Washington was 518,103. The difference, then, in favor of Washington, was 104,567. It will probably exceed 200,000 by 1910.[2] Washington first appeared in the census of 1860, with a population of 11,594. Oregon, which had become a state in 1859,

[1] For progress of construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad, see notes, vol. I, pp. 125, 191.

[2] Population of Washington was greater than of Oregon, in 1910, by 469,225; in 1920 it was greater by 572,927.

had, in 1860, 52,465. Washington first passed Oregon in 1890; its population then was 349,390; while that of Oregon was 313,767.

From 1870 to 1880 the growth of population in Oregon was 93,865; from 1880 to 1890, 138,999; from 1890 to 1900, 99,769. The increase during the present decade may be estimated conservatively at 200,000. It would be more if activity in railroad construction should be renewed within a year. Settlers will not go into isolated parts without the railroad or prospect of it. Our coast counties, which have resources for support of half a million people, are yet almost unoccupied; and though Eastern Oregon contains much land yet classed as desert, great tracts will surely be reclaimed as soon as possibility of transportation shall make it worth while to do it. Formerly, development preceded the railroad. But that day is past. Few now will live in places remote from the movements of life and business.

The timber of Oregon is still almost untouched, and within a few years will become the basis of an immense activity; while large part of the timber of Washington is gone already. Oregon, therefore, has an industry coming which in Washington, within a few years, will be practically exhausted. There is a probability that, within a period not exceeding twenty-five years, the population may again exceed that of Washington; since, relatively, in this state so little has been done upon the resources which nature has offered to industry and enterprise.

(*The Oregonian*, September 3, 1901)

THE bulk of Washington's population came recently from the East. The bulk of Oregon's population came here in early times, or was born here. Coming recently from the East, the population of Washington has retained its touch with the East. Every newcomer into Washington left friends behind him who took interest in him, who were anxious for his welfare, to whom he wrote accounts of the country, to whom he sent Washington newspapers. Persons who came to Washington wrote back to their "home paper," giving an account of the country, always a glowing one. They were anxious, of course,

to justify themselves for their removal to the new state. Parents who had sent their sons out to Washington were glad to hear from them, and glad to tell neighbors how fortunate the venture had been. All this together made a force that beats all the immigration efforts that can possibly be organized at this end of the line. Washington, therefore, received, and receives population.

But how was it and how is it in Oregon? The old settlers had been separated so long from their Eastern friends that they had been totally forgotten. They had ceased, long since, to "write home." Years and years ago the early settlers had sent letters to their home paper, giving accounts of the country; but long since they had ceased to do it. Long isolation had almost completely cut Oregon off from intercourse with the Eastern states.

When the new development began, Washington was comparatively new. Two great railroads were built into the state, across the continent, and proclaimed the discovery of a new country.[1] People began to rush in. They found the country unoccupied; they settled down and wrote for their friends. People came out with a rush — people who had seen the recent development in Eastern states, and who knew how to do things. They knew how to take hold of the new resources, to go into the lumber business, to hunt for coal and to apply new methods of agriculture. But to great part of the people of Oregon, long settled here, the methods of these new movements were all unknown.

The people of early Oregon had come out of the pioneer conditions in the then pioneer states of the Mississippi Valley, had been forgotten by their old friends there, forgotten even by their own relatives, had not kept up with the new development, and indeed had no means of doing so. On the other hand, in Washington a new people had come, out of the newer development of the Eastern states, in new and quick touch with the people from whence they came. Every newcomer into Washington was, therefore, an active

[1] The Northern Pacific and Great Northern railroads; later the Chicago, Milwaukee and Saint Paul Railway, and the Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company (Union Pacific).

and enthusiastic immigration agent. But in Oregon, where most of the desirable places for settlement had long been taken, there were not so many first-rate opportunities; the railroads were less energetic than those of Washington — indeed, could not be so energetic.

In the circumstances, the new population could settle in Washington, hitherto unoccupied, with more advantage; and every one who settled there wrote to his friends to come on, and wrote to the paper at his old home a glowing account of the situation. Then, after a while, followed the marvelous tales of gold discovery in Alaska and British Northwest territory. This set an immense tide of movement through the state of Washington and ports of Puget Sound, since the shortest route lay that way. Immigration and trade were enormously developed through these movements, of whose benefits the state of Washington was so fortunately situated as to receive the larger share. These are the facts that account for the more rapid recent growth of the state of Washington, as compared with the state of Oregon.

Old Traits in Oregon

(*The Oregonian*, May 3, 1893)

Oregon is dominated very largely — almost wholly — by the habits that were acquired many years ago, during its long period of isolation from the rest of the country. The habit of concentration on itself and of indifference to the outside world grew up as a natural consequence of Oregon's position. It is unfortunate that immigration has not been rapid enough to change the point of view.

In Washington it has been different. Till within a few years the population was quite small. There was an old element in it, the same as in Oregon, but it was not large enough to hold the country against the newcomers, and the tide of newcomers has overborne it, or swept it into the general current and moved it onward. Washington, therefore, has been more progressive, or at least has been subjected to greater changes than Oregon. Five-sixths of the pres-

ent inhabitants of Washington have come into the state within the last ten years, while probably not more than one-third of those of Oregon have come into this state during the same time. Eastern capital likewise has flowed into Washington in a great and steady stream. But little of it has come into Oregon. It has been encouraged there, but not invited here. Effort has been made by the people of Washington to point out opportunity for investment and industry to every man entering their borders. In Oregon, inquiry about opportunities for investment and industry has been coldly received, or actually discouraged. Our laws as to usury, methods of assessment, taxation of credits, and deductions of debts from property valuations, have made our system appear at great disadvantage. Hence we have received but little Eastern capital. Hence the survival which we may call "Old Oregon," remains. Hence the feeling, "What is the world to us? What is the World's Fair to us?" which caused our legislature to refuse at the proper time to provide for suitable representation at Chicago. It would have been different had Oregon been covered within recent years by an inundation of new inhabitants. But the "old settler," who seldom projects himself beyond his visual horizon, has prevailed in this as in so many similar ways. The state, consequently, is almost chained to immobility. Habits long followed become the fixed laws of life.

These things are said, not in the spirit of reproach, nor hardly even of criticism; for *The Oregonian* and its people are about as "old settlers" as anybody, and this paper therefore may presume on its character or position to justify it in making so plain a statement. The purpose is to point out to the people of Oregon a real hindrance, or impediment, to the progress of their state. It lies in their own indifference, in their inertia, in their self-sufficience, in their satisfaction with themselves, in their wish to be "let alone." This is not universal, indeed, but it is very prevalent, and it profoundly affects the character and development of Oregon. Our younger people should know it, so they may guide their future action by proper estimate of these traits.

HOUSE OF DR. JOHN MCLOUGHLIN, OREGON CITY, BUILT IN 1846

The back part of this building was a later addition, for hotel uses. The original house was moved to a site in a public park in 1909

COMPILER'S APPENDIX

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CHAPTER I

Note 1, p. 5. Pacific University grew from a school established through the missionary enterprise of the Reverend Harvey Clark, at the site of the town of Forest Grove, in 1846, and from an orphan asylum established in 1847, by Mrs. Tabitha Moffat Brown. The institution was incorporated as *Tualatin Academy* September 26, 1849. The convention of Congregational and Presbyterian churches, at Oregon City, Oregon, resolved, on September 21, 1848, to found an institution of learning in the Willamette Valley. The trustees designated Tualatin Plains as the location, and chose the site for the academy April 16, 1850, on the division line between the Clark and Stokes land claims. See advertisement in *The Oregonian*, May 13, 1852, J. M. Keeler, principal. The academy was expanded, in 1854, into Pacific University and Tualatin Academy. The original trustees were Harvey Clark, Hiram Clark, P. H. Hatch, Lewis Thompson, James M. Moore, Osborne Russell and George H. Atkinson. These trustees adopted the school, which was conducted by Harvey Clark and Mrs. Brown. As a site for the school, Clark pledged two hundred acres of his land claim at Forest Grove. The first teacher was L. D. C Latourette, and the second, the Reverend Cushing Eells. J. M. Keeler was president of the academy, before creation of the university, and after him, E. D. Shattuck. Dr. S. H. Marsh was chosen president of the university April 13, 1854, and was inaugurated August 21, 1855. See article on history of Tualatin Academy and Pacific University in *The Oregonian*, February 9, 1876, by George H. Atkinson, G. H. Collier and Horace Lyman; "Recollections of Grandma Brown," Oregon historical *Quarterly*, September, 1902, pp. 287–95; "Origin of Pacific University," by James R. Robertson, *ibid.*, June, 1905, pp. 109–46; *ibid.*, November 6, 1895, p. 9; *Transactions* of Oregon Pioneer Association for 1880, p. 36; *The Oregonian*, May 5, 1871; *ibid.*, July 10, 1898, by W. N. Ferrin; address of Henry L. Bates before Oregon Historical Society in October, 1919, Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. xxi, pp. 1–12.

Note 2, p. 6. The Oregon City College (Baptist) was founded by Hezekiah Johnson and Ezra Fisher. It was conducted by Erasmus D. Shattuck in 1853, and afterwards, by John D. Post. The executive committee, in 1857, consisted of W. Carey Johnson, T. J. Chase and L. D. C. Latourette. The college building was partly finished in 1852, and was torn down in

1874. See *Baptist Annuals of Oregon*, by the Reverend C. H. Mattoon, vol. I, pp. 36–37; *The Oregonian*, April 9, 1853, advertisement. The executive committee of the trustees was composed of W. C. Johnson, T. J. Chase and L. D. C. Latourette. A larger institution (University of Oregon City) was incorporated by the territorial legislature January 11, 1856 (*Special Laws*, 1856, pp. 59–62), the trustees being George C. Chandler, Ezra Fisher, William T. Matlock, Hezekiah Johnson, Thomas J. Chase, L. D. C. Latourette, William C. Johnson, G. P. Newell, John D. Garrett, Samuel L. Campbell, D. L. Lenox, J. S. White, William Sperry, E. T. T. Fisher, C. M. Kester, R. Weston, J. M. Fulkerson, R. Dickens, James Magers, James Johnson, J. S. Holman, M. L. Pine.

There were girls' schools at Oregon City at this time (1856). The Oregon City Seminary was incorporated January 10, 1856, by act of the territorial legislature (*Special Laws*, 1856, pp. 62–63), the trustees being Charles Pope, Jr., Thomas Pope, A. E. Wait, James K. Kelly, W. P. Burns, Gustavus Hines, George Abernethy, A. Holbrook, P. H. Hatch, C. F. Beattie, William Roberts, Charles Adams. This was a Methodist institution.

An earlier school, the Clackamas County Female Seminary, incorporated in September, 1849, had as trustees George Abernethy, George H. Atkinson, Hezekiah Johnson, Wilson Blain, A. L. Lovejoy, Hiram Clark and James Taylor.

The Young Ladies' Academy, of Oregon City, was incorporated February 1, 1851, with Loyola Duquesne, Maria Oloysa Cheorg and Mary Bernard Weber as incorporators.

Note 2, p. 7. The death of Ann Roelofson Scott, mother of Harvey W. Scott, is thus recorded in *Genealogy of the Rulison-Rulifson-Ruliffson Families*, by Henry Flagler Rulison, Chicago, 1919, p. 174:

"When in the Black Hills of Wyoming, then the territory of Nebraska, at a point in the trail about seventy miles north of the present city of Cheyenne, Ann Roelofson Scott died on June 20, 1852. She was sick but a few hours with what was known as 'plains cholera.' Around her lowly bed on the ground in a shelter tent where she died, were her husband and nine children, the youngest three years and six months (William Neill Scott); the eldest, nineteen years (Mary Frances Scott Cook). Her last words were: 'All is well.' All was indeed well with her, but for her children, what a calamity! A grave was made for her in the soft sandstone, by chiseling out a coffin-shaped vault. She was wrapped in cerements and buried by the side of the trail, in a wilderness far from civilization, without a coffin. The next morning the oxen were yoked up and the caravan again started westward, her husband and children with anguished hearts and fearsome glances backward to the new-made grave." See vol. III, p. 272.

Note 3, p. 7. For history of the Roelofson family, see *Genealogy of the Rulison-Rulifson-Ruliffson Families*, by Henry Flagler Rulison, Chicago, 1919.

The first member of this family came to New York, from Denmark, in 1714. His name was Laurens Ruloffson. The members of the Roelofson-Scott family, who came to Oregon, belonged to the sixth generation of Roelofsons in America, and the fourth generation of Scotts, descended from John Scott, who came to America before the Revolutionary War. They were:

Mary Frances (Cook), born near Groveland, Illinois, May 19, 1833; married Amos Cook August 16, 1853; lives at Portland, Oregon.

Abigail Jane (Duniway), born near Groveland, Illinois, October 22, 1834; married Benjamin C. Duniway August 1, 1853; died October 11, 1915.

Margaret Ann (Fearnside), born near Groveland, Illinois, October 27, 1836; married George W. Fearnside April 4, 1853; died September 24 or 28, 1865.

Harvey Whitefield, born near Groveland, Illinois, February 1, 1838, died August 10, 1910.

Catharine Amanda (Coburn), born near Groveland, Illinois, November 30, 1839; married John Coburn June 23, 1857; died May 27, 1913.

Harriet Louise (McCord-Palmer), born near Groveland, Illinois; lives at Tacoma, Washington; married William R. McCord April 24, 1856; later married Isaac A. Palmer.

John Henry, born near Groveland, Illinois, October 1, 1843; died May 1, 1862.

Sarah Maria (Kelty), born near Groveland, Illinois, April 22, 1846; married James M. Kelty June 23, 1869; died November 24, 1901.

William Neill, born near Groveland, Illinois, December 4, 1848; died August 27, 1852.

Note 1, p. 50. George H. Himes was born in Bradford County, Pennsylvania, May 18, 1844; went to Illinois with his parents in 1846; came to Oregon in 1853, and settled at Puget Sound with his parents. In 1864–99 he followed the printing business at Portland. He has been curator of the Oregon Historical Society since January 9, 1899. He is an active authority on matters of Oregon history, and has written many historical articles. The compiler of this work is greatly indebted to Mr. Himes for assistance in collection and verification of materials. For his biography, see *The Oregonian*, October 23, 1904, p. 21.

Note 1, p. 54. The Reverend Thomas Lamb Eliot came to Oregon from Saint Louis, Missouri, in 1867. In the seventies he served two terms

as county school superintendent for Multnomah County. He was born October 13, 1841, at Saint Louis. He was educated there, graduating at Washington University in 1862. He pursued divinity studies at Harvard and received a degree. For about a year he served as minister at Saint Louis, in the Church of the Messiah. He is now pastor emeritus of the Church of Our Father (Unitarian) at Portland, Oregon.

Note 1, p. 73. Beriah Brown was the third son of Beriah and Martha Ashmun Brown, and was born at Canandaigua, New York, February 21, 1815. In 1829 he was apprenticed as a printer in the office of the Batavia, New York, *Advocate*. The following year he was employed in the office of the Erie, New York, *Observer*, where he met Horace Greeley, an apprentice, and the acquaintance lasted through life. Later, he assisted in the publication of the Batavia *Advocate*, and, in 1835, moved to Michigan, where he established the *Tecumseh Democrat*. In 1839 he joined his brother, John A. Brown, in the publication of the Niles, Michigan, *Intelligencer*. In 1841 he moved to Iowa City, Wisconsin, where he engaged in mining, and was made county clerk in 1844. He resigned this position in 1845 and purchased the Mineral Point *Democrat*, which he moved to Madison, Iowa, in 1846. He made his paper the organ of the "Tadpole," or "Progressive" Democracy, and waged war against the *Argus*, styled "Old Hunker." The radical measures which his paper advocated were adopted by the first constitutional convention, and resulted in the rejection of the constitution. The factional warfare, in which these two papers were engaged, continued for several years, but in 1852 both were united, with Brown as editor. In 1855 the paper was sold, and, after various changes, he established the *People's Press* at Milwaukee, in 1860, and bought a half interest in the *News*. In the winter of 1862 he moved to Stockton, California, and was engaged as editor of the Stockton *Republican*, one of the few Democratic papers in California at that time. The establishment was moved to Sacramento in 1863, and, on April 21, was raided by several persons who resented his "copperhead" utterances, and a portion of the material was knocked into "pi." After this episode, Brown removed to San Francisco and became the editor of the *Democratic Press*. For awhile his criticisms of President Lincoln were modified; but the success of the Union arms, later in 1863 and on through 1864, and the final collapse of the Southern Confederacy, caused Brown to return to his former criticisms with increased venom. At this time there were four other weekly papers at San Francisco — the *Occidental*, *Newsletter*, *Monitor* and *Franco-Americane* — that apparently followed the leadership of the *Democratic Press* in its denunciation of President Lincoln; and the strained condition thus created, followed by Lincoln's assassination on April 14, 1865, provoked the populace beyond con-

trol, and resulted in all five of the above-named newspaper offices being sacked. Brown sought safety by fleeing to Mexico. He afterwards sought to recover $50,000 damages from the city of San Francisco. He then became a joint publisher of the Santa Rosa *Democrat*. In June, 1866, he was called to Portland by the *Oregon Herald* Publishing Company, to become its editor, a position he held until November, 1868. He then went to Salem, Oregon, and established the *Democratic Press*, an enterprise which did not last long. In 1870 he went to Olympia, Washington, and edited the *Washington Standard* for about a year. In 1871 he went to Seattle, and, in connection with Charles H. Larrabee, bought the plant of the *Territorial Dispatch*, continued the paper under that name for three months, and, on December 4, 1871, issued the *Puget Sound Dispatch*, the second daily newspaper published at Seattle. In 1872 Brown's son, Edward H., bought Larrabee's interest, and the publishers became known as Brown and Son. In 1874 the son retired. In April, 1875, a half interest was sold to Austin A. Bell, the publishing firm then being Brown and Bell. In September, 1879, the *Dispatch* was bought by the Seattle *Intelligencer*.

One of the characteristics of Brown's editorial career was that he often set up his own articles at the printer's case. Another characteristic was his unusually long sentences. "When he was editing the *Oregon Herald*, in 1868," says George H. Himes, "he composed more of his articles than was customary of him. And one night, when I was 'subbing' for a friend who was a regular compositor on the *Herald*, he set up one of Brown's editorials which contained a sentence making forty-eight lines of type, seven words to a line."

The *Oregon Herald* was first issued March 17, 1866, M. H. Abbott and N. L. Butler, editors and proprietors. Abbott came to Oregon from Illinois, where he had had a number of years' experience in conducting a weekly newspaper. Butler had graduated the year before from Willamette University. He was the son of J. B. V. Butler, a pioneer of 1849, at Oregon City, who the next year removed to Portland and began business in Front Street, west side, between Washington and Alder streets. He built a house in the timber, a simple, one-story structure, where the Multnomah County Court House now stands. Young Butler soon discovered that editing a daily newspaper was not his *forte*, and ceased to be connected with the editorial department of the paper on May 9, 1866. J. B. V. Butler, as a staunch Democrat, had been led to believe by Abbott, and a number of local leaders of that party, that an organ was a "long-felt want"; and, being a man of considerable wealth for that time, he provided the principal part of the funds necessary to secure the plant, which cost, it was generally understood, between $5000 and $6000. This included a "railway

cylinder press" and the necessary type, fixtures, etc., for a seven-column daily of four pages, and an eight-page weekly. After leaving the editorial office, N. L. Butler went into the business office for the purpose of aiding his brother, Henry, to safeguard their father's interest.

Abbott's interest in the paper ended with the issue of June 9, 1866, as it had been taken over by the *Oregon Herald* Publishing Company, composed of the following persons: Aaron E. Wait, president; Thomas Patterson, an expert bookkeeper, secretary; Aaron E. Wait, William Weatherford, James K. Kelly, L. F. Grover, J. S. Smith, N. L. Butler and Dr. J. C. Hawthorne, directors; Beriah Brown, editor. The office was on the second and third floors of the Raleigh building, southeast corner of First and Stark streets. A daily was issued on Sunday morning, but none on Monday. James D. Holman, father of Frederick V. Holman, had the routes, and his two elder sons, Sprague and Frederick, aided their father in taking care of them. The plant was removed into the Carter building, northwest corner Front and Washington streets, January 7, 1867, on the opposite side of the hall from *The Oregonian* office. The *Herald* Publishing Company dissolved on November 26, 1868, and William Weatherford became the publisher. Brown ceased to be editor on December 1, 1868, and was succeeded by Sylvester Pennoyer, who bought the plant on April 17, 1869. He sold it to Thomas Patterson and Company, on the first of the following July, and his partner was Eugene Semple, a young lawyer of considerable ability. The firm continued the publication until the latter part of 1874, when the end came, and the plant was bought at auction by Henry L. Pittock. Democrats were in the saddle for a number of years, beginning in 1868, by the election of J. S. Smith, representative in Congress that year, with Patterson, Semple and Mart. V. Brown, of the *State's Rights Democrat*, Albany, as state printers. During those years the growth of "phat" in the state publications was very large. "A. Noltner was state printing expert," says George H. Himes, "approved all bills as they were presented to him, certifying to their correctness. After R. P. Earhart became secretary of state, and W. B. Carter was elected state printer, Wood Munkers, a printer of Salem, a Democrat, who had been familiar with the state printing for a number of years, and George H. Himes, of Portland, were appointed state printing experts. Bills amounting to over $9000 were submitted by Brown for examination. Both experts examined these bills, in detail, very carefully, and passed on them in strict accordance with the law governing state printing, and reduced Brown's bill a little over $4000."

Note 1, p. 83. Sylvester Pennoyer was governor of Oregon (1887–95), and mayor of Portland (1896–98). He came to Oregon in 1855, from New York State, where he was born in Tompkins County July 6, 1831. He entered

the lumber business at Portland, and engaged more or less in politics. In 1868–71 he edited the *Oregon Herald*, a Democratic paper. He led the anti-Chinese agitation in 1885–86. Pennoyer gained national attention in 1893, by sending to President Cleveland, when the latter offered suggestions for dealing with Chinese troubles, a message saying: "I will attend to my business; let the President attend to his." For facsimile of the message, see *The Oregonian*, May 31, 1902, p. 13. See also *The Oregonian*, May 3, 1893; May 21, 1893. Pennoyer demanded impeachment of Cleveland (*ibid.*, May 19, 1893). He was a radical advocate of free coinage of silver in 1896. He had eccentric qualities, which were partly natural and partly affected. He died May 31, 1902. When President Harrison visited Oregon in 1891, Governor Pennoyer refused to meet him, and remained in the state Capitol. For narrative of the episode, by P. H. D'Arcy, *ibid.*, March 20, 1901; also *ibid.*, April 24, 1891; for Pennoyer's open letter of criticism to President Cleveland, *ibid.*, December 26, 1893. See vol. v, p. 96.

Note 2, p. 83. The Coxey army — followers of Jacob S. Coxey, of Massillon, Ohio — was an aggregation of unemployed persons, who undertook to "march" on Washington, D.C., in the spring of 1894, with demands for issuance of paper currency and free coinage of silver. Many "commonweal" companies tried the journey, but only a few men followed Coxey to the national capital. They arrived there May 1, 1894. Coxey and Carl Browne, his son-in-law, were imprisoned twenty days for refusal to keep off the grass. An "army" gathered at Portland in April, 1894, and, on April 25, started for Washington, D.C. At Troutdale, the men seized a train (April 27) and made their way to Arlington, Oregon, where they were stopped by United States soldiers, ordered to intercept them by President Cleveland. The men were brought back to Portland and taken before the United States court, but soon were released.

Note 1, p. 98. "Statement one," as part of the direct primary law enacted under the initiative in Oregon in 1905, and now superseded by the United States constitutional amendment providing for direct election of United States senators, pledged candidates, for nomination for the state legislature who chose to subscribe to it, as follows:

"I further state to the people of Oregon, as well as to the people of my legislative district, that, during my term of office, I will always vote for that candidate for United States senator in Congress who has received the highest number of the people's votes for that position at the general election next preceding the election of a senator in Congress, without regard to my individual preference."

"Statement two," an alternative pledge for candidates, did not bind them to the "people's choice," and stated that the legislative candidate

could regard the popular election plurality or majority of Senate candidates "as nothing more than a recommendation, which I shall be at liberty wholly to disregard if the reason for doing so seems to me to be sufficient."

The legislative candidate was not required by the primary law to subscribe to either of these "statements," but most of them, in the primary elections of 1906, 1908 and 1912, subscribed to statement one, and, although the legislatures were overwhelmingly Republican, they elected Democratic United States senators in 1909 and 1913 — George E. Chamberlain and Harry Lane — who won the popular choice in the state general elections on account of Republican factionalism.

Note 2, p. 108. Mr. Scott wrote a tribute to H. W. Corbett in April, 1903. It was approved by a committee of the directors of the Lewis and Clark Exposition, and adopted by the directors April 10, 1903. The members of the committee were Mr. Scott, W. D. Fenton, W. D. Wheelwright, P. L. Willis, W. E. Thomas and J. C. Flanders. For copy of Mr. Corbett's will, see *The Oregonian*, April 5, 1903. For reminiscences of Corbett's election as United States senator, in 1866, by T. W. Davenport, *ibid.*, January 29, 1903, p. 10. Mr. Corbett died at Portland March 31, 1903.

Note 1, p. 120. In May, 1910, three months before his death, Mr. Scott was in Grande Ronde Valley, Eastern Oregon, near the Old Oregon Trail, over which he and his father, John Tucker Scott, had journeyed with ox teams fifty-eight years before. Mr. Scott, amid his many reminiscences, often spoke of the journey, which was undertaken by thousands of settlers, as "foolish and foolhardy," meaning thereby that the dangers and hardships, the losses of property, the quitting of established homes in the Middle West for unbuilt abodes in Oregon, entailed severe sufferings upon the immigrants, which they would have escaped by staying in the Middle West. The property of the family, which was considerable, near Peoria, Illinois, was entirely consumed in the journey, and the family arrived in Oregon in October, 1852, without money or animals or other resource than its own energy. In this view, Mr. Scott came to consider that the removal to Oregon was not a "rational" undertaking. It reduced the family to poverty and cost the lives of three of its members. The mother of the family died on the Platte River, near Fort Laramie, on June 20, 1852. See note, p. 274. A three-year-old son, William, died near Durkee, Baker County, Oregon, August 27, 1852. Another son, John, died from pioneer privations at West Tualatin, Oregon, May 1, 1862. Thousands of other families fared the same way. For pioneer reminiscences, by Catharine A. Coburn, sister of Mr. Scott, see *The Oregonian*, June 17, 1890, p. 16; narrative of pioneer women, by Mrs. Coburn, *ibid.*, August 12, 1900, p. 15; story of Peoria party,

by Sarah M. Kelty, sister of Mr. Scott, this volume, pp. 309–15; narrative of crossing the plains, by Abigail Scott Duniway, sister of Mr. Scott, *ibid.*, October 7, 1900, p. 22; narrative of crossing the plains in 1851, by Samuel A. Clarke, *ibid.*, March 27, 1887; narrative by "J. B. M.," *ibid.*, January 16, 1887.

Note 1, p. 126. The Lewis and Clark Exposition was held at Portland in the summer of 1905. Citizens of Portland gave more than $400,000 to the exposition, and the state of Oregon appropriated $400,000 additional. The United States Government appropriated $450,000, largely due to the work of Mr. Scott at Washington, D.C. The exposition idea was first proposed by L. B. Cox, in a letter in *The Oregonian*, December 3, 1900, p. 8. A resolution commending the idea was adopted by the Oregon Historical Society December 15, 1900, on motion of Mr. Cox. The exposition corporation was formed, in 1901, by twenty-five Portland men (*The Oregonian*, January 27, 1901, p. 24). As president of the Lewis and Clark Exposition in 1903–04, Mr. Scott worked in the national capital nearly five months for an appropriation from Congress, which was finally obtained in the sum of $450,000. In a later comment on this work, he wrote that this was "the most trying, difficult and laborious work I ever undertook" (*The Oregonian*, October 27, 1904). Mr. Scott appeared before the Senate committee, in behalf of the Lewis and Clark Exposition, January 7, 1904; before the House committee, January 14, 1904. For details of Mr. Scott's work in this matter at Washington, D.C., see *The Oregonian*, December 7, 1903; January 4, 5, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20, 1904.

Note 3, p. 126. For narrative of John Meares' explorations of the Northwest coast, see F. W. Howay's "Early Navigation of the Straits of Fuca," Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. XII, p. 10.

Note 4, p. 129. The Peoria party divided at Fort William, near Bent's Fort. Blair, Oakley, one of the Woods and Farnham remained with Sidney Smith, who was wounded. Farnham had also a guide, named Kelley. Others of the party wished to abandon Smith, whom they disliked. At Brown's Hole, Oakley and Wood left Farnham; so did the guide, Kelley. For narrative of the Peoria party, see *Transactions* of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1896, pp. 92–107; The *Expedition to Oregon*, Obadiah Oakley, being a pamphlet reprint from the Peoria (Illinois) *Register;* pp. 309–15, of this volume. See p. 229, preceding, for personnel of the Peoria party.

Note 7, p. 129. Peter Hardeman Burnett became first governor of California. He was judge of the supreme court of California in 1857–58, and president of the Pacific Bank of San Francisco in 1863–80. He was author of *Recollections of an Old Pioneer* (1880); *The Path which Led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Church* (1860); *The American Theory of*

Government with Reference to the Present Crisis (1861); *Reasons why we Should Believe in God, Love God and Obey God* (1884).

Note 3, p. 132. Oregon City was laid out and named, in 1842, by Dr. John McLoughlin, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, who located his land claim there in 1829. A Methodist parsonage was built there in 1843. For narrative of early settlement, see *The Oregonian*, January 1, 1895, p. 15; description and location of pioneer buildings, *ibid.*, June 16, 1893, p. 9; history of Oregon City, *ibid.*, March 11, 1900, p. 13; description in 1872, *ibid.*, July 8, 1872, p. 3. The paper mill at Oregon City was projected in 1889 (*The Oregonian*, October 11, 1889). The first name of the locality was *Willamette*, or *Willamette Falls*. It is referred to by that name in correspondence of the Methodist mission, established there in 1840 on the arrival of the "great reinforcement" in the *Lausanne*. After 1840 the place grew as a political and trade center. According to Mrs. Mary Waller Hall, daughter of the Reverend Alvin F. Waller, who was one of the missionary party which came to Oregon on the *Lausanne* and settled at Oregon City in June, 1840, the first apple tree in that place grew in the lot where the Methodist church was first erected, from seed that her mother threw outdoors after she had been preparing dried apples for cooking. In the fall of 1839, after the Wallers had consented to join the west-bound mission party, Mrs. Waller began preparing for the prospective trip. She dried a lot of apples by the old-fashioned method of peeling, coring, quartering and stringing them in festoons over the fireplace and round the kitchen stove. When cured they were soaked. When Mrs. Waller was preparing some of this dried fruit, she discovered that all of the seeds had not been taken from the apples in coring. These seeds were cast outside the house. The seeds sprouted in the spring of 1841, and a few of the most vigorous ones grew to be trees.

Note 1, p. 133. The Molallas were a Waiilatpuan tribe akin to the Cayuses, forming the western division of the family (*Handbook of American Indians*, vol. I, p. 930). The Cayuses have a tradition that the Molallas were detached and driven west in wars with hostile tribes. The Molalla habitat was west of Mount Hood, in the Molalla River district. Their dialect shows that the separation from the Cayuses took place in remote times. White's *Ten Years in Oregon*, p. 266, gives *Molallah*. According to H. S. Lyman, in the Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. I, p. 323, the name was *Mo-lay-less*. Schoolcraft, in *Indian Tribes*, vol. III, p. 200, gives *Moolalles*. In the treaty of 1854, the name is *Molala*. In the treaty at Dayton, Oregon, in 1855, the name is *Molalallas*. The Wilkes map, of 1841, shows *Molalle*. See *The North American Indian*, by Edward S. Curtis, vol. VIII, p. 80. Schoolcraft gives *Mole-Alley* in *Indian Tribes*, p. 521.

Note 2, p. 133. *Pudding River* seems a name of French origin. "About the time the union between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company was consummated (1821–22), Joseph Gervais and Etienne Lucier, accompanied by their families, as was the custom, were camping on the *Hous-u-cha-chuck,* which was the Indian name of Pudding River, their camp being near its junction with the Willamette; while there they experienced severe weather, accompanied with a snow storm, which confined them to their lodges until compelled to go forth in search of game. The little prairie along Pudding River, where the lower Indian trail crossed the stream, was but a short distance above their camp. Here they came upon a herd of elk, some of which they succeeded in shooting. The Indian women, hearing the firing and suspecting what was going on, started with their knives and vessels to assist their liege lords of the chase. They succeeded in saving the blood, which was soon made into the favorite French dish known as blood pudding, upon which, with their elk meat, they fared sumptuously every day during the continuance of the inclement weather. While this memorable feast was being enjoyed, Gervais and Lucier christened the stream *Rivière au Boudin,* or "Pudding River" (from address of W. H. Rees, Oregon Pioneer Association, 1879, p. 23, *Transactions*). See also *Ten Years in Oregon,* of Dr. Elijah White, p. 70, by Miss A. J. Allen. *Pudding River* appears on the Wilkes map of 1841.

CHAPTER II

Note 2, p. 137. Senator Thomas H. Benton, in a public address at Saint Louis October 19, 1844, said: "I say the man is alive, full grown, and listening to what I say, who will yet see the Asiatic commerce traversing the North Pacific Ocean — entering the Oregon River — climbing the western slope of the Rocky Mountains — issuing from its gorges — and spreading its fertilizing streams over our wide-extended Union! The steamboat and the steam car have not exhausted all their wonders. They have not yet found their amplest and most appropriate theaters — the tranquil surface of the North Pacific Ocean and the vast inclined plains which spread east and west from the base of the Rocky Mountains. The magic boat and the flying car are not yet seen upon this ocean and upon this plain, but they will be seen there; and Saint Louis is yet to find itself as near Canton as it is now to London, with a better and a safer route by land and sea to China and Japan, than it now has to France and Great Britain" (H. S. Lyman's *History of Oregon,* vol. III, p. 397).

Note 1, p. 140. Michael Lock was an English merchant of the time of Elizabeth. His story of Juan de Fuca bears many evidences of fabrication.

The Northwest Passage, between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, was a dream of centuries, and many imaginary tales were told about it. Existence of the strait entering Puget Sound, between 48 and 49 degrees north latitude, and Lock's story of De Fuca's passage between 47 and 48 degrees, may appear coincidences. Many other tales of adventure and discovery failed of proof, and this one did likewise in its account of a passage into the Northern sea. An early myth was the tale of Gaspar Cortereal, Portuguese navigator, who, about the year 1500, was said to have sailed through the "Strait of Anian," from the coasts of Labrador into a Western sea that opened into the Indian Ocean. Urdanata, a friar, was said to have sailed into the northern passage from the South sea to Germany. This tale was told to Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1539–1583) and Sir Philip Sidney, of Salvatierra, a Spaniard. Laderillo, of Colima, Mexico, was said to have sailed in his youth from Newfoundland into the Pacific. In 1588 Maldonado, a Portuguese, sailed the Strait of Anian to the land of Tartary and the South sea. In 1740 Fonte, a Spanish admiral, sailed from Peru northward to latitude 53 degrees, where he ascended a river to a lake, descended another river to a second lake, and thence to the Atlantic Ocean, where he met a ship from Boston. These stories indicate the mythmaking mind of the world at that time. They found their way into literature. Shakespeare's *Tempest* has its scene in one of the Western islands; likewise De Foe's *Robinson Crusoe* and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*. Brobdingnag was in the latitude of the Columbia River. Luggnagg and Blubdubdrib were near Japan. The tale of De Fuca is doubtless a fable, but the name of the fabled hero designates the straits. Many voyages were made afterwards to find the Strait of Anian, or the Northwest Passage. Not until 1904–05 did a ship sail from the Pacific to the Atlantic — that of Captain Ronald Amundsen, discoverer of the South Pole in 1911 — through an ice-packed passage. For narrative of early navigators of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, see Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. XII, pp. 1–32.

Note 1, p. 142. Captain Charles William Barkley, English navigator, commanded the ship *Imperial Eagle*, of the Austrian East India Company, in 1787. Barkley Sound bears his name. Some of his sailors were killed by Indians, and he called the place *Destruction River*, and this name passed to Destruction Island. Vancouver, in April, 1792, referred to Barkley's Destruction Island. On July 14, 1775, the Spanish captain, Bodega y Quadra, lost sailors in the same way, and called the island *Isla de Dolores*. Barkley discovered the entrance to Puget Sound in July, 1787, and named the Strait of Juan de Fuca; but Meares claimed the discovery next year and claimed the honor of naming the strait. The name of Captain Barkley appears upon charts and in some books under the erroneous spelling:

Barclay, Berkly, and other variations. The diary of Barkley's wife, who accompanied him, is quoted by F. W. Howay in the Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. XII, p. 8, as follows:

"In the afternoon, to our great astonishment, we arrived off a large opening extending to the eastward, the entrance of which appeared to be about four leagues wide, and remained about that width as far as the eye could see, with a clear easterly horizon, which my husband immediately recognized as the long-lost Strait of Juan de Fuca, and to which he gave the name of the original discoverer, my husband placing it on his chart."

Note 3, p. 144. For narrative of the Spanish settlement at Nootka Sound, see *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. VIII, pp. 163–71, by F. W. Howay. *Nootka* may be from an Indian word, *chauk* ("water"). The Nootka tribes are a branch of the Wakashan family, and their habitat was the coast north of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, although they include the Makah Indians, of Cape Flattery, Washington. Galiano gives the name as *Nuqueno* and *Nutka*. Duflot de Mofras, in his *Exploration*, vol. II, p. 344, gives *Noutka*. Hale, of the Wilkes expedition, gives *Nootka*.

Note 2, p. 147. Tacoma was named in 1868 by General Morton Matthew McCarver, one of the founders of Burlington, Iowa, who arrived in 1868 at Tacoma. The first settlement at the site of Tacoma was made by Nicholas DeLin, in 1853. A sawmill was started there soon afterwards by Michael T. Simmons, Smith Hays and DeLin. For description of Tacoma in 1871, see *The Oregonian*, September 6, 1871, p. 3; description in 1873, *ibid.*, August 2, 3, 1873; description in 1875, *ibid.*, October 1, 1875; description in 1884, *ibid.*, November 23, 1884; description in 1883, by "D. H. S.," *ibid.*, June 22, 1883; description in 1889, *ibid.*, January 1, 1890. See *McCarver and Tacoma*, by Thomas W. Prosch. See Compiler's Appendix, vol. II, p. 304, for origin of *Tacoma*.

Note 3, p. 147. Olympia was named by Edmund Sylvester about 1850, to whom the name was suggested by view of the Olympic Mountains. The original name was *Smithfield*, or *Smither*. The town was started in 1846 by Sylvester and Levi L. Smith, and incorporated January 28, 1849. It became the headquarters of the Puget Sound customs district December 10, 1851, Simpson P. Moses, collector. Olympic Mountains were so called after Mount Olympus, named by Meares. For description of Olympia in 1852, see *The Oregonian*, July 17, 1852, by Thomas J. Dryer; description in 1871, *ibid.*, September 4, 1871, p. 3; description in 1875, *ibid.*, May 5, 1875. The Nisqually name of the site of Olympia is said to have been *Stenchass*. The site was originally the land claim of Levi Lothrop Smith and Edmund Sylvester, from whose names Smither was derived.

CHAPTER III

Note 2, p. 150. The first American settlement on the Pacific Coast was at Astoria in April, 1811. The Winship brothers attempted an American settlement in 1810, at a place called Oak Point, on the Oregon side of Columbia River. The attempt lasted less than two weeks. See Lyman's *History of Oregon*, vol. II, pp. 220–28. The enterprise was abandoned on account of hostility of Indians. The Oak Point site was not that of the village in Washington now bearing that name (see vol. I, p. 165). For history of the Astoria post office, 1847–56, see *The Oregonian*, October 13, 1856; narrative of Astoria, in 1812, *ibid.*, January 29, 1893, p. 17, by "J. S."; March 17, 1901, p. 32; location and description of Fort Astoria at Astoria, by Preston W. Gillette, *ibid.*, October 25, 1903, p. 23; December 12, 1895, p. 6, by the same writer. For description in 1882, *ibid.*, November 28, 1882; description in 1875, *ibid.*, April 22, 24, 1875, August 27, 1875. For early reminiscences of Astoria, by William C. McKay, *ibid.*, June 2, 1883. For narrative of the results of the Astor enterprise in the Oregon Country, see Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. XII, pp. 206–19, by Frederick V. Holman. For narrative of the restoration of Astoria, *ibid.*, vol. XIX, p. 221, by T. C. Elliott. For narrative of the route of the Astor land party in Idaho and Oregon, *ibid.*, vol. XIII, pp. 227–39, by the Reverend J. Neilson Barry. For history of Astoria, *ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 130–49, by A. A. Cleveland.

Note 3, p. 150. Meares called the Columbia River entrance *Deception Bay* on July 6, 1788, because of failure to find the river that Heceta had discovered on August 17, 1775. Meares called the north cape *Cape Disappointment*. Gray called it *Cape Hancock* in 1792. Vancouver retained *Cape Disappointment*. Heceta, on August 17, 1775, had called the river entrance *Bahia de la Asuncion*, the northern cape *San Roque*, and the southern, *Frondoso*. Later Spaniards called the entrance *Eñcenada de Heceta*. Meares, in his ship *Felice*, in 1788, found that a "prodigious easterly swell rolled on the shore," and he made soundings in sixteen fathoms over a hard, sandy bottom. "After we had rounded the promontory, a larger bay, as we had imagined, opened to our view, that bore a very promising appearance, and into which we steered, with every encouraging expectation. As we steered into the bay, the water shoaled to nine, eight, and seven fathoms, when breakers were seen ahead, and from the masthead they were observed to extend across the bay. We therefore hauled out." See Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. XVIII, p. 234.

The United States Government undertook to restore *Cape Hancock* in 1875, and made the name of the army post *Fort Canby*, in honor of General E. R. S. Canby (*The Oregonian*, February 13, 1875); but a board on

geographic names, appointed September 4, 1890, by President Harrison, Thomas C. Mendenhall, chairman, retained *Cape Disappointment* (see bulletin issued May 25, 1891, reprinted in part in *The Oregonian*, July 18, 1891). The *Fourth Report*, 7th United States Geographic Board (1916), retains *Cape Disappointment*. It is so named by official charts and navigators.

The lighthouse at Cape Disappointment was built in 1856; the fort, in 1863–64 (*The Oregonian*, August 6, 1863; September 21, 1864). Fortifications at Fort Stevens and Scarborough Head were built at the same time. All this construction was done under Captain George H. Elliott, United States engineers. The forts are described, *ibid.*, February 13, 1863. The first Government project for lighthouses and forts followed an inspection made in 1850, by a commission consisting of L. M. Goldsborough, Gabriel J. Von Brunt, Joseph L. Smith, Cornelius A. Ogden, Danville Leadbetter and Simon Fraser Blunt (*ibid.*, December 4, 1900, p. 24). For description of Fort Canby in 1893, by E. W. Wright, *ibid.*, June 25, 1893. A lighthouse was built at Point Adams in 1874 (*ibid.*, September 15, 1874). For narrative of pioneer work of the United States engineers in Oregon, *ibid.*, November 17, 1888, p. 3, by Colonel W. H. Mendell.

Note 2, p. 151. Vancouver, Washington, was incorporated January 23, 1857. Fort Vancouver was built there in 1825 by the Hudson's Bay Company. For details and description of the post there in 1854, see *The Oregonian*, November 11, 1854; description, in 1845, by John Minto, *ibid.*, January 20, 1899, p. 10; for history of the town, *ibid.*, March 4, 1900, p. 13, October 2, 1904, p. 33; *Transactions* of Oregon Pioneer Association for 1881, p. 75. For description of this town in 1890, see *The Oregonian*, January 1, 1891. The Vancouver-Yacolt railroad was projected in 1888, as a line to Klickitat (*ibid.*, February 15, 1888, May 12, 1888, August 14, 1888, December 19, 1888).

Note 2, p. 152. The author of Townsend's *Narrative* saw Lewis and Clark's Fort Clatsop in 1836, and thus describes it, p. 256: "I walked today around the beach to the fort of Young's Bay, a distance of about ten miles, to see the remains of the house in which Lewis and Clark's party resided during the winter which they spent here. The logs of which it is composed are still perfect, but the roof of bark has disappeared, and the whole vicinity is overgrown with thorn and wild currant bushes."

Note 2, p. 154. Duncan McDougal was in command at Astoria, in absence of Wilson Price Hunt, and carried through the plan to abandon the enterprise and sell to the North West Company. His threat of smallpox against the Indians of the Columbia, after destruction of the *Tonquin* years afterwards was condemned as an inciter of Indian hostilities, espe-

cially of the Whitman massacre. McDougal assembled the chiefs, displayed a bottle, which he said contained smallpox, and threatened to uncork the bottle. In later years, when disease attacked the savages, this incident was remembered against the whites. For notes on his diary of 1810–13, see *The Oregonian*, October 23, 1893, p. 4.

Note 4, p. 155. Donald McTavish, a partner in the North West Company, arrived in the Columbia River on March 23, 1814, in the ship *Isaac Todd*, from England, with goods of the North West Company. He was drowned while crossing the Columbia River, from Fort George (Astoria) to the *Isaac Todd*, on May 22, 1814. His gravestone, now to be seen near the spot where he was buried, on the south side of the city hall of Astoria, is said to have been the first gravestone erected in Oregon. See accounts in *The Oregonian*, November 1, 1864, and April 15, 1887; also May 5, 1904, p. 8, by George H. Himes. The *Isaac Todd* brought officers and trading goods of the North West Company to the Columbia River, after the *Raccoon* had taken possession of Astoria.

Note 2, p. 156. Ramsay Crooks (1787–1859) was born in Greenock, Scotland. "The strongest man, next to Mr. Astor himself, who at any time stood at the helm, in the home office at New York" (Chittenden, *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*). He was a man of great energy and longevity, though not of great physical strength. He died at New York City June 6, 1859. For narrative of his explorations, see *The Oregonian*, June 22, 1901, p. 5, by J. W. Redington.

Note 1, p. 157. John Day (1771–1819), a Virginia backwoodsman, joined the Astor-Hunt party in 1811. He and Ramsay Crooks fell behind the party in the Snake River country, in the winter of 1811–12. On the Columbia River, he and Crooks were robbed of all their goods and clothing by Indians. According to one account, Day went insane at Astoria in 1814 and was buried there; but this is disputed by Chittenden and T. C. Elliott, who cite Ross's statement that Day died in the Upper Snake River country in 1819. See article by Mr. Elliott, Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. XVII, pp. 373–79. A river in Eastern Oregon, John Day, bears his name; also a river in Clatsop County, and in Wyoming. John Work, in his journal of 1825, mentions *Day's River* (*Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. V).

Note 2, p. 157. William Geiger, in the winter of 1842–43, was at Whitman's mission, and later at the Lapwai mission. In 1843 he settled near the present town of Cornelius, Oregon. His adventures are narrated by Samuel A. Clarke in *The Oregonian*, November 28, 1886 For pioneer reminiscences, by Dr. William Geiger, *ibid.*, June 23, 1901, p. 5; for biography, *ibid.*, October 12, 1898, p. 7; April 14, 1901, p. 10.

Note 3, p. 157. The name *Forest Grove* appears on a map of Oregon, made

by John B. Preston, first surveyor-general of Oregon, dated October 20, 1851. The compiler is informed by Mr. George H. Himes that, in the early fifties, either S. H. Marsh or Harvey Clark petitioned the postal department to change the name of the post office from *Tualatin* to *Forest Grove*. The name was suggested by a grove of oak trees on the campus of Pacific University. The town was started in 1849, by Harvey Clark, and was incorporated in 1882. The name *Forest Grove* seems not to have been generally recognized until a number of years after it was applied. The town held its first city election January 13, 1873. According to the Reverend Myron Eells (*The Oregonian*, November 6, 1895), the name was first applied January 10, 1851, by trustees of Tualatin Academy, on motion of J. Q. Thornton, as the name of the location of Tualatin Academy. Previously, the place was called *West Tualatin Plain*, and that where Hillsboro stands was called *East Tualatin Plain* (*ibid.*, November 6, 1895). For history of the name *Forest Grove*, *ibid.*, November 6, 1895, p. 9. For description of the town in 1890, *ibid.*, January 1, 1891.

Note 2, p. 159. The Reverend Elkanah Walker came to Oregon, in 1838, as a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in company with Reverends Cushing Eells and A. B. Smith, and W. H. Gray, a layman. In company with Reverend Cushing Eells, he established and maintained a mission among the Spokane Indians, known as the Tshimakain mission (1838–48), and left it because of the Indian uprising in 1847, when the Whitman massacre occurred. In the spring of 1848 he removed to Oregon City, and in 1850 to Forest Grove, Oregon, where he lived until his death. During his residence at Forest Grove, he served in both the Congregational and Presbyterian pulpits, and aided in the establishment of Tualatin Academy and Pacific University. For biographical narrative of Elkanah Walker, by George H. Atkinson, see *Transactions* of Oregon Pioneer Association, 1877, pp. 68–72; for narrative of his wife, Mary Richardson Walker, by Myron Eells, *ibid.*, 1897, pp. 130–40.

Note 3, p. 159. The Reverend Cushing Eells descended from John Eells, who came from England to America in 1630. He entered Williams College in 1830, graduating four years later. He entered the East Windsor Theological Institute (now the Hartford Theological Seminary) in 1834, graduating three years later. He was licensed to preach December 4, 1836, and ordained October 25, 1837. On March 5, 1838, he was married to Myra Fairbanks, of Holden, Massachusetts. Mr. and Mrs. Eells were first appointed, by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to go to Africa, but plans were changed, and they started to Oregon on March 6, 1838, and in the last of April, 1839, they were established on their mission field at Tshimakain, thirty miles northwest of the present city of

Spokane, Washington. As a result of the Whitman massacre, Mr. and Mrs. Eells went to Willamette Valley. His advertisement of a "select school," at the house of the Reverend J. S. Griffin, near Hillsboro, appears in *The Oregonian* of September 6, 1851. In 1857 he became principal of Tualatin Academy. Mr. Eells preached and taught school until 1860. He then went to Walla Walla, Washington, and established Whitman Seminary, where he remained two years. Then he began preaching at various missionary stations. His wife died August 9, 1878. His death occurred February 16, 1893, at Tacoma. For reminiscences of the Eells family and narrative of a family reunion at Skokomish reservation, *ibid.*, March 11, 1878, p. 1.

Note 5, p. 161. Gray's Harbor, on the Washington coast, was named for Captain Robert Gray, who entered the bay May 7, 1792, and called it *Bulfinch Harbor*, in honor of one of the Boston owners of his vessel. Vancouver named the bay, after the survey by Lieutenant Joseph Whidbey in October, 1792, in recognition of Captain Robert Gray. The Spanish navigators, Galiano and Valdes, charted it *Puerto de Gray* in 1792. John Work, of the Hudson's Bay Company, called it *Chehalis Bay* in 1824 (T. C. Elliott in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, July, 1912, p. 204). David Douglas designated it *Whidbey Harbor* in 1825 (*Journal of David Douglas*, 1823–27, p. 60). American maps sometimes showed the name *Whidbey Harbor*.

Note 1, p. 164. The quotation of Coleridge continues: "Why should we not wish to see it realized? America would then be England viewed through a solar microscope; Great Britain in a state of glorious magnification! How deeply to be lamented is the spirit of hostility and sneering, which some of the popular books of travels have shown in treating of the Americans! They hate us, no doubt, just as brothers hate; but they respect the opinion of an Englishman concerning themselves ten times as much as that of a native of any other country on earth. A very little humoring of their prejudices, and some courtesy of language and demeanor, on the part of Englishmen, would work wonders, even as it is, with the public mind of the Americans" (from *Table Talk*, as reproduced by Henry Nelson Coleridge). This excerpt from the conversation of the great Coleridge is dated April 10, 1833. At that time the United States had not acquired a sure foothold in the Pacific Coast. Its claim to Oregon was weak and the British were in possession. The region of California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas and half of Colorado was Mexican, and Spanish was the ruling tongue. This prophecy of Coleridge is one of the remarkable things of literature.

Note 1, p. 165. The Chinook jargon, as a brief vocabulary, was recorded by Captain James Cook, at Nootka Sound, in 1778. See *The American Anthropologist*, July, 1894, pp. 300–12. The jargon spread to the Columbia River, and there came to be known as a jargon of the Chinooks. It is a lan-

guage that grew as a necessity, out of the great diversity of tongues, for the purposes of trade. It first came into notice in the early days of the fur trade of the Northwest coast, about 1810. The jargon doubtless existed before the advent of the whites. The foundation is Chinook, with Nootka, Salish and other languages, to which were added, after contact with the fur hunters, corrupted English and French words. See *The Handbook of American Indians*, Government Printing Office, 1907; "Bibliography of the Chinookan Languages," by Pilling, 1903; *International Idiom, A Manual of the Oregon Trade Language or "Chinook Jargon,"* by Hale, 1890; *First Settlers on the Columbia River*, by Alexander Ross, vol. II, p. 134.

Note 2, p. 165. The name *Chinook* designated a family of seven or eight tribes of the Columbia River, between The Dalles and the ocean. They included: Chinooks, Clatsops, Clackamas, Multnomahs, Wahkiakums and Wascos. See Lewis and Clark journals of Elliott Coues, p. 711. The Chinookan family included Indians of Willapa Bay, and south of Columbia River to Tillamook Head. The name *Chinook* is variously given: *Cheenook, Tshinuk, Tsinook, Schinouks*. According to Silas B. Smith, the name designated a headland of Baker's Bay (Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. I, pp. 320–26). For narrative of the Chinook Indians, see *The Oregonian*, December 17, 1899, p. 28. The name is *Chenook* in the journals of David Douglas, 1824, Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. VI, p. 83; also in the journals of Dr. John Scouler, 1825, *ibid.*, pp. 176, 177, 178, 180, 195, 201. Scouler also gives *Chinook*, *ibid.*, p. 276. Franchère and Ross Cox give *Chinook*. Alexander Ross gives *Chinooke* and *Chinookes*. John Work, in his journal of 1824–25, gives *Cheenook*. Dr. W. F. Tolmie, in his journal of 1833, gives *Chenooke*.

The Chinookan family formerly had full possession of the Columbia River below The Dalles, and, when the whites arrived, had given way to alien tribes in several places: at Klickitat and Lewis rivers, where Klickitats, of the Shahaptian family, who had been driven westward from the Eastern Columbia Valley, in turn made their habitat; at Cowlitz River, where the Cowlitz of the Salishans lived; and at Westport and Clatskanie, Oregon, where Athapascans lodged.

Note 1, p. 168. Simon Fraser was born in 1776 near Bennington, Vermont. He joined the North West Company in 1792, and became a partner in 1802. He died April 19, 1862, aged eighty-six years, at Saint Andrews, Ontario. See Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. X, No. 2, pp. 1–15.

Note 2, p. 168. Dr. Elliott Coues says of David Thompson: "The world can never be allowed to forget the discoverer of the sources of the Columbia, the first white man who ever engaged in the upper reaches and main upper tributaries of that mighty river, the pathfinder of more than one way across the continental divide from Saskatchewan and Athabaskan

to Columbian waters, the greatest geographer of his day in British America, and the maker of what was then by far its greatest map" (Henry-Thompson journals, p. xxii). For comment on Thompson's exploration of the Columbia River, see Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. xii, pp. 195–205; his journal, *ibid.*, vol. xv, pp. 37–63, 104–25, both by T. C. Elliott; *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. viii, pp. 183–87, 261–64; vol. ix, pp. 11–16, 103–06, 284–87, by T. C. Elliott.

Note 4, p. 169. For narrative of the Columbia River region, under the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company, see *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. v, pp. 192–206, by C. O. Ermatinger. For narrative of the fur trade forts, *ibid.*, vol. viii, pp. 102–13, by O. B. Sperlin. For the history and description of Fort Hall, *ibid.*, vol. vii, pp. 217–32, by Miles Cannon. For history of Fort Colville, 1859–69, *ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 78–82, by W. P. Winans. For a list of the trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, see the Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. xx, pp. 33, 335.

Note 1, p. 172. *Grande Ronde* is the name of a tributary of Snake River in Union and Wallowa counties. The name is universally charted *Grande*, not *Grand*. *Grand Ronde* is also the name of an Indian agency in Yamhill County. *Grande Ronde* is mentioned by Peter Skene Ogden, in his journals of 1827. See Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. xi, pp. 361–81, by T. C. Elliott. The French word, *ronde* ("circle," or "roundness"), requires the adjective agreement *grande*, and the two words may be taken as describing a large or beautiful contour, as meant by the combination of the two words. Such, doubtless, is the source of *Grande Ronde* and *Grand Ronde*, the *e* of *Grand* having been dropped by American habit.

Note, 3 p. 181. For narrative of Daniel Webster, Lord Ashburton and Old Oregon, see *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. i, pp. 209–16; vol. ii, pp. 6–11, both by T. C. Elliott.

CHAPTER V

Note 1, p. 187. The treaty with Russia, dated April 5, 1824, said (article 3): "It is, moreover, agreed that hereafter there shall not be formed by the citizens of the United States, or under the authority of said states, any establishment upon the Northwest coast of North America, nor on any of the islands adjacent, to the north of 54 degrees and 40 minutes of north latitude; and that, in the same manner, there shall be none formed by Russian subjects, or under the authority of Russia, south of the same parallel." No agreement could be reached at this time with Great Britain as to boundary limits. The treaty between Russia and the United States was formed to check aggressions of either nation in the direction of

the other. United States trading ships had been trafficking in the North Pacific to the annoyance of Russia. That country, by a ukase of 1821, had claimed the Pacific Coast almost to San Francisco, and the sole right of navigation in the North Pacific. Limitation of Russia to 54 degrees and 40 minutes, therefore, was a good stroke of diplomacy.

The Monroe doctrine was first defined in the correspondence leading up to this treaty of 1824, by John Quincy Adams, secretary of state under President Monroe. In a letter of instructions, July 22, 1823, to Henry Middleton, minister to Russia, Mr. Adams said: "There can be, perhaps, no better time for saying frankly and explicitly to the Russian government that the future peace of the world, and the interest of Russia herself, cannot be promoted by Russian settlements upon any part of the American continent. With the exception of the British establishments north of the United States, the remainder of both the American continents must henceforth be left in the management of American hands" (Marshall's *Acquisition of Oregon*, vol. I, p. 163).

On the same date, Mr. Adams' letter of instructions to Richard Rush, minister to England, contained the same assertion of what was afterwards called the Monroe doctrine. The negotiations with Russia gave the occasion for announcing the Monroe doctrine. Events that led to it were those of European and American politics, in which Spain, Portugal and France had lost colonies in America, and the Holy Alliance contemplated restoration of Spanish authority in America. For narrative of negotiations between the United States and Britain over Oregon, see the Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. XIX, pp. 100–10, 181–214; vol. XX, pp. 35–54, 173–92, by Lester Burrell Shippee.

Note 1, p. 189. The nearest approach to conflict over national boundaries in the Pacific Northwest was, probably, that between Britain and the United States in 1859, the dispute being over San Juan Island. The issue was arbitrated in 1872 before Emperor William of Germany, who, on October 21 of that year, awarded the island to the United States. In the treaty of 1846 between Britain and the United States, which fixed the forty-ninth parallel as the boundary, the line, as to Puget Sound and Vancouver Island, was deflected south, along the "middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island." Conflicts broke out between settlers of the two nations and between revenue and peace officers, and considerable bitterness developed. In 1859 Brigadier-General W. S. Harney, of the department of the Columbia, stationed soldiers on the island under Captain George E. Pickett, and then under Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey. But for the moderation of the British, armed conflict would have occurred at this juncture. To adjust the difficulty, the Government at

Washington sent to the scene Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, who arranged with the British to reduce the number of American soldiers on the island, and to have the British station an equal number of soldiers there. The British offered arbitration six times, until in 1871, William I of Germany was chosen arbitrator, by the treaty of May 8. In 1873 the legislature of Washington Territory designated the island the county of San Juan. For letters between Brigadier-General Harney and Governor Douglas, see *The Oregonian*, September 3, 10, 1859; narrative of the San Juan episode, *ibid.*, August, 1859; statement of the issue, *ibid.*, March 18, 1869; reminiscences by Captain F. H. West, *ibid.*, January 23, 1897, p. 8.

CHAPTER VI

Note 1, p. 194. The University of Oregon, at Eugene, began in 1872 as the Union University Association, with a capital of $50,000. The college became the state university in 1876. For details of the organization of the University of Oregon, see *The Oregonian*, August 9, 11, 1876; December 30, 1872, p. 1. For history, see the Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. VII, pp. 145–50. Henry Villard gave $50,000, in Northern Pacific Railroad bonds, to the university in 1883. He gave $7000 cash in 1881. One of the university buildings is named *Villard Hall*. He also gave to the University of Washington Territory, at Seattle (*The Oregonian*, September 3, 1883, p. 8).

Note 2, p. 195. Dr. John McLoughlin, as chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, at Fort Vancouver, in 1824–46, possessed almost autocratic power in commercial and domestic affairs in the Oregon Country up to the time of the provisional government, and therefore has been called the first governor of Oregon. He was a man of broad views and ideas, generous and kind instincts and of large physical proportions. He was born in parish La Rivière du Loup, Canada, about 120 miles below Quebec, on the Saint Lawrence River, October 19, 1784. He was baptized November 3, 1784, in the parish of Mamouraska. His parents were Roman Catholics. His father was John McLoughlin, a native of Ireland. His mother's maiden name was Angelique Fraser. She died in the parish of Beaumont, Canada, July 3, 1842, aged eighty-three years. Her father was Malcolm Fraser, a retired Scotch army officer. Dr. John McLoughlin was the second of seven children. He was educated in Canada and Scotland and became a physician. He joined the North West Company, and became a partner and opposed the union with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. He was one of the factors in charge of Fort William, the chief dèpôt and factory of the North West Company, at the time of the consolidation. His second wife

was the widow of Alexander McKay, who had been killed in the *Tonquin* disaster at Clayoquot Sound, Vancouver Island, in June, 1811. Dr. McLoughlin built Fort Vancouver in 1825. There he created a farm of 3000 acres and established a sawmill and a flour mill. He exported lumber to Hawaii and flour to Sitka. His district of the Hudson's Bay Company (the Columbia) grew to be profitable. There were numerous forts and posts tributary to Fort Vancouver, there being, in 1839, about twenty of these forts besides Fort Vancouver.

In the development of the fur business, of agriculture and commerce, and in the government of the country, he displayed rare powers of organization. He met the American traders with kindness, but with ruinous competition, and the American missionaries and settlers, with benevolence. He left the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1846, and became an American citizen at Oregon City May 30, 1849. He died at Oregon City September 3, 1857. After his resignation he carried on a milling and merchandise business at Oregon City. His house at Oregon City, built in 1845–46, and occupied by him until his death, was moved, by the McLoughlin Memorial Association, to the bluff overlooking Willamette River and restored to its first condition. It was dedicated as a permanent memorial September 5, 1909. For narrative, "Dr. John McLoughlin and His Guests," by T. C. Elliott, see *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. III, pp. 63–77; for biography, see F. V. Holman's *Dr. John McLoughlin.*

For McLoughlin's comment on his humane treatment of the American pioneers, see his letter in *The Oregonian*, August 26, 1854, being a reply to attacks made upon him in Congress by Joseph Lane. His letter (*ibid.*, July 22, 1854) gives his reasons for refusing to contribute to the winter campaign against the Cayuses in 1847–48, and cites his later relief to the military forces. For matters pertaining to preservation of McLoughlin's house at Oregon City, *ibid.*, April 21, 1909; June 19, 20, 1909; September 5, 1909; December 6, 23, 1909. The house was presented to Oregon City by the Hawley Pulp and Paper Company April 18, 1908, and was moved to the bluff above town in the fall of 1909. It was dedicated September 5, 1909. For reminiscences of Dr. McLoughlin, by Joseph Watt, see *Transactions*, Oregon Pioneer Association, for 1886, p. 24. For history and picture of the McLoughlin house at Oregon City, see *The Oregonian*, May 12, 1899, p. 2; November 9, 1906, p. 6. For autobiographic notes by Dr. McLoughlin, on historical matters, see *Transactions* of Oregon Pioneer Association for 1880, p. 46. For tribute to Dr. McLoughlin, by George H. Williams, see *The Oregonian*, July 21, 1895, p. 20; history of his relations to early Oregon history, by Harvey K. Hines, *ibid.*, December 19, 1897; details of McLoughlin's controversy over his land claim at Oregon City, *ibid.*, July 14,

1870, p. 1; July 15, 1870, p. 1, these issues being reprints of a controversy between J. Quinn Thornton and Frances Fuller Victor; history of McLoughlin's service to the Hudson's Bay Company, *ibid.*, May 26, 1887; tribute to him, from Matthew P. Deady, *ibid.*, June 16, 1887; from John Minto, *ibid.*, October 19, 1904, p. 7; Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. XI, pp. 177–200; biography, by George H. Himes, *ibid.*, November 19, 1904, p. 8; by Frederick V. Holman, *ibid.*, October 8, 1905, p. 39; October 15, 1905, p. 41; October 22, 1905, p. 45; narrative of the presentation of the McLoughlin portrait to the state, in the Capitol at Salem, *ibid.*, February 7, 1889. See vol. I, p. 157; vol. II, pp. 177, 305.

CHAPTER VII

Note 2, p. 199. For bibliography of Hall J. Kelley, see Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. VIII, pp. 375–86, by F. W. Powell; for narrative, by Frances Fuller Victor, *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 381–400; by Fred. Wilbur Powell, *ibid.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 1–54, 93–139, 167–223, 271–95; narrative, by Lester Burrell Shippee, *ibid.*, vol. XIX, pp. 218–22.

Note 5, p. 200. Sauvie's Island was named for a pioneer of that name (Sauvé). Originally it was called *Wapato Island.* On this island Wyeth built Fort William. The name was given as *Wap-pa-to*, by Lewis and Clark, 1805–06; *Wap-to* by Franchère, 1811. The Indian name is that of an egg-shaped root commonly known as "Indian potato," of value as an article of food when baked. *Multnomah Island* was the name designated by Captain Charles Wilkes in 1841; also by John B. Preston, United States surveyor-general, on a map dated October 21, 1851. *Sauvie's Island* appears on a map made and compiled by J. W. Trutch and J. W. Hyde in 1856, and published by J. B. Preston in 1856. On an early map of Tualatin or Washington County, this island is called *Wyeth's* or *Wyeth Island* — the name it should properly bear now, as Sauvé was an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company's dairy farm, located on the west side of the island, as indicated on Wilkes' map. For an Indian name of the island, *Wakanasese*, see *The Oregonian*, December 10, 1888, p. 5; history of Sauvie's Island, *ibid.*, July 9, 1880, p. 1.

CHAPTER VIII

Note 1, p. 207. For Jason Lee's diaries (1833–34 and 1837–38), see Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. XVII, pp. 116–46, 240–66, 397.

Note 2, p. 209. Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth's first expedition to Oregon, 1832; second expedition, 1834–36. These were efforts to establish trade. They

failed, largely through competition of the Hudson's Bay Company. For narrative of the expeditions to Oregon, reprint from Cambridge (Massachusetts) *Chronicle*, see *The Oregonian*, July 15, 1904, p. 12. See also *The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth*, by F. G. Young, Eugene, Oregon, 1899.

Note 3, p. 209. Benjamin Eulalie de Bonneville made Western exploring expeditions in 1831–35. He was in the Columbia River country in 1834. After the treaty of 1846, he again visited the Columbia River. See vol. I, pp. 170–72. His object was the fur trade, in which he could not meet the competition of the Hudson's Bay Company. Another object was supposed to be that of gaining information about the Hudson's Bay Company's occupation of Oregon, and the Oregon Country in general. This was contemporaneous with the first American missionary work in Oregon, and the Government of the United States is believed to have been seeking information from Jason Lee in the same manner. Bonneville was born in France in 1795, and died in Arkansas on June 12, 1878. He graduated from West Point in 1815, fought with gallantry in the Mexican War, was retired in 1861, and was brevetted brigadier-general in 1865. Washington Irving used his journals in writing *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, published in 1837. Bonneville returned to the Columbia River, after the treaty of 1846, as engineer of the United States forces that came to take possession of the country. He did the surveying for the army post at Vancouver, Washington, and there fell into companionship of some of the Hudson's Bay Company officers who had received him hospitably at Fort Nez Percé (Old Fort Walla Walla), on March 4–6, 1834, but had refused to sell him trading supplies.

Note 4, p. 209. Felix Hathaway arrived in the American schooner *Convoy*, from Boston, in 1829. He was a ship carpenter, and was chief builder of the schooner *Star of Oregon*, built on Swan Island, near the site of Portland, in 1841. This was the first vessel built in Oregon by Americans. Hathaway made his home near the mouth of the Chehalem River, in Willamette Valley. He died at Vancouver, Washington, March 6, 1856, aged fifty-eight years.

Note 5, p. 209. Solomon Howard Smith was employed by Dr. McLoughlin to teach school at Fort Vancouver in 1832, a few weeks after John Ball had quit school-teaching there. He settled near the mouth of Chehalem River, and afterwards at Clatsop Plains. Ball was a member of Wyeth's first party and returned eastward in 1834. Smith taught school, also, at French Prairie, near the home of Joseph Gervais. Smith was one of the organizers of the provisional government in 1843. He died at Skipanon June 19, 1891. For biographical narrative, see *Transactions*, Oregon Pioneer Association, 1887, pp. 81–89.

Note 6, p. 209. Ewing Young arrived from California in 1834 with Kelley, Joseph Gale, Webley Hauxhurst and others. Young was the most thrifty and prosperous member of the American settlement. His death, on February 15, 1841, and the necessity of probating his estate, created the need of a provisional government, which was organized in 1843. In 1837 Young headed a party that brought a herd of cattle from California. For his biography, see *Transactions* of Oregon Pioneer Association for 1880, p. 56. Young's cabin was in Chehalem Valley, five miles west of Newberg. His grave, near by, is beneath an oak tree that was planted as an acorn in 1846. It is about five hundred yards southeast of the Ewing Young High School in district number 10, of Yamhill County. The land there in Young's time was an open prairie, ideal for grazing of cattle.

Note 7, p. 209. For a history of Methodism in Oregon, see *The Oregonian*, February 10, 17, 1907, p. 49, by Eva Emery Dye; December 13, 14, 1908; October 17, 1898, p. 6; October 15, 1898, p. 11, by Mrs. M. W. Gibbs; October 11, 1898, p. 8, by Harvey K. Hines; April 10, 1899, p. 3, by J. W. Miller; December 9, 1900, p. 10; history of Taylor Street Church, of Portland, *ibid.*, October 9, 1898, p. 8. This church society was incorporated, by the Oregon Territory legislature, January 26, 1853 (*Special Laws, 1852–53*, pp. 23-24). The trustees were Perry Prettyman, P. G. Buchanan, Albert Kelly, John D. Dickison and Samuel Nelson. To build a brick church, at Third and Taylor streets, in 1867–70, a company was incorporated June 1, 1867, by A. C. Gibbs, William H. Watkins, Jacob Stitzel, E. J. Northrup, William Masters, W. S. Ladd, Jacob Kamm and Robert Porter. For narrative of the laying of the corner stone, see *The Oregonian*, August 1, 1867, p. 3; August 2, 1867, p. 3. The church edifice was dedicated September 5, 1870, p. 3.

Grace Church, at Portland, was dedicated October 12, 1884. Ground was broken for the present building, at Twelfth and Taylor streets, July 2, 1888.

The first Methodist camp meeting in Oregon was at or near Hillsboro, beginning July 12, 1843. The Reverend Jason Lee conducted the services. Other ministers present were Gustavus Hines, H. K. W. Perkins, David Leslie and Harvey Clark. See Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. xx, pp. 159–72.

The second Methodist camp meeting in Oregon was at Dayton in 1845 (W. H. Gray in *The Oregonian*, May 16, 1872, p. 3). The Methodist Church at Oregon City was built in 1843; its history, *ibid.*, July 20, 1905, p. 9.

Note 1, p. 210. Daniel Lee was a nephew of Jason Lee, and came with the latter to Oregon in 1834. He married, in Oregon, Miss Maria T. Ware, a teacher, June 11, 1840, who arrived in June of that year. They left

Oregon in August, 1843. J. H. Frost and family left Oregon at the same time. The party sailed by way of the Hawaiian Islands. Frost and his wife arrived in Oregon in 1840, in the *Lausanne*. Daniel Lee died at Hennessy, Oklahoma, July 22, 1895, aged eighty-nine years. Lee and Frost published *Ten Years in Oregon*, in 1844, J. Collard, New York.

Note 2, p. 211. *Flathead Indians* is not an appropriate name. This tribe, of the Salishan family, did not practice the custom of flattening the heads of their infants. This custom was common among the Lower Columbia River Indians. Many writers have described the so-called Flathead Indians, but none mentions this practice among them. Samuel Parker says, in 1838: "I was disappointed to see nothing peculiar in the Flathead Indians to give them their name. Who gave it to them, or for what reason, is not known. The name given them by the Nez Percés, which is *Sailep*, does not signify 'flathead.'" For description of the method of flattening the heads of their infants, see *Handbook of American Indians*, "Artificial Head Deformation," vol. I, p. 96; Alexander Ross, *First Settlers on the Columbia River*, pp. 99–100; Townsend's *Narrative*, pp. 175–76. The so-called Flathead Indians may have been so named by French-Canadian voyageurs, who found among them slaves with flattened heads from the coast (*Têtes-Plates*). Such is the explanation in *Trans.* Roy. Soc. Can. for 1891, sec. II, p. 6. *Flathead* also has been applied to tribes in other parts of the United States, as the Catawba and the Choctaw. In the Pacific Northwest the practice was common among the Chinooks, many of the Vancouver Island Indians, and most of the Salish of Puget Sound and British Columbia. The Preuss map, 1846, shows *Selish* or *Flathead Indians*.

Note 5, p. 214. Joseph Holman settled near the mission, at Chemawa. He was one of the original trustees of Willamette University, which was established by act of the territorial legislature of 1853. He was born in England in 1815; was a member of the American party at Champoeg, 1843; merchant at Salem, 1849–53; died June 25, 1880. For biography, see *The Oregonian*, June 28, 1880, p. 1.

Note 6, p. 214. Sidney Smith settled in Chehalem Valley; was born in Fulton County, New York, 1809; was associated with Ewing Young; was a member of American party at Champoeg in 1843; in mercantile business, Lafayette, 1856–66; died September 18, 1880.

Note 2, p. 215. Mrs. Lee died June 16, 1838. Her burial was the first of a white woman in Oregon. The remains now lie in the mission graveyard at Salem. The inscription on the tombstone reads: "Beneath this sod, the first ever broken in Oregon for the reception of a white mother and child, lie buried the remains of Anna Maria Pittman, wife of the Reverend Jason Lee, and infant son. She sailed from New York in July, 1836, landed in

Oregon June [May], 1837, was married July 16, 1837, and died June 26, 1838, in full enjoyment of that love which constrained her to leave all for Christ and heathen souls. So we have left all and followed thee; what shall we have therefor?" The gravestone rests on the adjoining grave of the second wife of Jason Lee, Lucy Thomson Lee, who died in 1842. She came from Barre, Vermont. Her gravestone was lost in the Willamette River, near Clackamas Rapids, from an Indian canoe. Her daughter, Lucy Anna Maria Lee Grubbs, died April 28, 1881.

Note 3, p. 215. James R. Robb was born in Butler County, Pennsylvania, August 21, 1816. He went to California in 1849, and returned to Oregon. He was one of the original trustees of Willamette University; member of the American party at Champoeg, 1843; came to Oregon, 1842, and settled at Oregon City; died November 26, 1890.

Note 4, p. 215. Sidney Walter Moss was born in Benton County, Kentucky, March 17, 1810. He organized the Falls Debating Society, at Oregon City, in 1843. He claimed to have written the original tale of the *Prairie Flower*, which he gave for publication to Overton Johnson, and which was expanded by Emerson Bennett, of Cincinnati. This became a popular sketch of border life. Moss wrote numerous sketches of pioneer life in Oregon. He came to Oregon in 1842; built the first hotel at Oregon City in 1844; died September 24, 1901. He engaged in the merchandise business at Oregon City (biography in *The Oregonian*, September 25, 1901). Moss carried an advertisement in *The Oregonian* in 1852 of his "Main Street House" at Oregon City, signed by himself and "The Widow," announcing that, "owing to pressing necessities and our cheap rates of fare, we are compelled to say:

> To *all*, high or low,
> Please down with your dust,
> For he's no friend of ours,
> That would ask us to trust.

"The Widow" was Mrs. Richardson, before she married Moss. For reminiscences of Sidney W. Moss, see *The Oregonian*, September 29, 1901, p. 22; biography, *ibid.*, March 6, 1898, p. 19. See vol. III, pp. 348–50.

Note 5, p. 215. Medorem Crawford was born in Orange County, New York, June 24, 1819. At Oregon City he transported goods round the Falls with ox teams. He was a member of the American party at Champoeg, 1843. He settled on Yamhill River near Dayton; was a member of the legislature of the provisional government, 1847–48, representing Clackamas County; represented Yamhill in 1860, in the house of representatives; was United States collector of internal revenue in 1863–68; appraiser at Port-

First Church Choir in Oregon, 1851, First Methodist Church, Portland

Names of persons in group, left to right, front row: Charlotte Barnes, wife of George A. Barnes; Emily Roberts Griffin, wife of Edward H. Griffin; Frances [?] McNamee, afterwards wife of Edward J. Northrup; Mary Davis, afterwards wife of David W. Burrowes; Sarah Davis, afterwards wife of George L. Story; Evelyn Chapman, afterwards wife of S. E. Marye; Mary Purpley; John Miller Murphy; rear row: A. B. Hallock, Hiel Barnes, Houston Roberts, George A. Barnes, Thomas A. Davis, Thomas A. Savier, Edward H. Griffin

land, 1871–76. He came to Oregon in 1842 from Schuyler County, New York. He married Adalene Brown in 1843. He died December 26, 1891 at Dayton, Oregon. See *Transactions* of Oregon Pioneer Association for 1897, p. 122; *The Oregonian*, December 27, 1891, p. 8; biography of his wife, Adalene, *ibid.*, May 23, 1879, p. 3; pioneer reminiscences, *ibid.*, April 15, 1888. See notes, vol. I, pp. 37, 38. Crawford's narrative of the migration of 1842 to Oregon appears in *Transactions* of Oregon Pioneer Association for 1881, pp. 9–19.

Note 2, p. 216. John Cushing, of Newburyport, Massachusetts, fitted out the brig *Maryland*, Captain John H. Couch, in 1839, which arrived in Oregon next year. Jason Lee, who left Oregon in 1838 for reinforcements, addressed a letter in 1839 to Caleb Cushing, son of John Cushing, and at that time representative in Congress for Massachusetts, describing the new community in Oregon. The Cushings decided to enter upon a general trade with the settlers. Caleb Cushing did important work in Congress, in connection with the Oregon boundary negotiations with Great Britain. Lieutenant William A. Slacum had made investigations in Oregon in 1836, for the state department, and his report, published in 1838, gave importance to the Oregon question. For the Slacum report, see *Quarterly* of Oregon Historical Society, vol. XIII, pp. 174–224. No man of his day was better informed on the Oregon question than Caleb Cushing. In 1839 he rendered a report to the House of Representatives on the Oregon title, setting forth American claims with much ability.

Note 3, p. 216. John H. Couch arrived in the Columbia River in June, 1840, about a month after the *Lausanne*. The venture, as a trading enterprise, was a failure, but the Cushings fitted up another stock of merchandise, and dispatched it in the *Chenamus*, under Captain Couch. After his second voyage in the *Chenamus*, Couch opened a merchandise store at Clackamas Rapids, below Oregon City. In 1848–49 he brought the *Madonna* from New York, with Captain George H. Flanders as chief mate. They landed at Portland and there established a store. Captain Couch held numerous places of official trust in Oregon. He occupied, as his donation land claim, what is now Couch's Addition at Portland. He died at Portland January 19, 1870. His biography appears in *The Oregonian*, January 25, 1870; *Transactions* of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1886, p. 59. His advertisement as a general agent and merchant appears in the first issue of *The Oregonian*, December 4, 1850. For reminiscences of Captain Couch and the *Chenamus*, see *The Oregonian*, June 21, 1894, p. 2; February 11, 1894, p. 10. His gravestone is described in *The Oregonian*, September 2, 1872.

CHAPTER IX

Note 1, p. 224. A narrative of the Whitman massacre appears in *The Oregonian*, May 30, 1886, by Samuel A. Clarke; also November 14, 1886; history of the mission, by Samuel A. Clarke, *ibid.*, May 2, 1886; names of the victims of the massacre, *ibid.*, February 17, 1897, p. 4, by George H. Himes; *Transactions* of Oregon Pioneer Association for 1896, p. 113; narrative of life at Whitman's station, by Catharine S. Pringle, *The Oregonian*, July 11, 18, August 22, 1886. A well-considered estimate of his life appears in *The Oregonian*, by the Reverend Thomas Laurie, February 28, March 7, 1886. Five of the Indian murderers were hanged at Oregon City in 1850; narrative of their execution, *ibid.*, December 3, 1879. Their bones were exhumed in 1896 (*ibid.*, March 9, 1896, p. 5). For reminiscences of the massacre, *ibid.*, January 1, 1899, p. 22; episodes of the survivors, *ibid.*, May 27, 1886, p. 3; description of the tomahawk said to have been used in killing Whitman and his wife, *ibid.*, December 28, 1886, p. 1. For details of Waiilatpu, by Alanson Hinman, see the Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. II, pp. 268–72. Recollections of the massacre appear in *Transactions* of Oregon Pioneer Association, 1901, pp. 189–95.

Note 1, p. 225. The purpose of Whitman's "ride" has been a subject of long and sometimes acrimonious dispute. The leading critic of the Whitman "legend" is William I. Marshall, who, in his *Acquisition of Oregon*, says Whitman's purpose was to dissuade the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions from discontinuance of the southern branch of the mission, comprising the stations of Waiilatpu (Whitman's), Lapwai and Kamiah; also to secure a larger support for the missionary work, obtain additional laborers and induce families to migrate to the vicinity of the mission stations.

The Whitman legend, as printed in 1866 in the New York *Evening Post*, appears in the *Oregon Herald*, November 17, 1866. For narrative of the Whitman "ride," by A. L. Lovejoy, see *The Oregonian*, May 3, 1876, p. 1. A denial of the legend, by George L. Curry, appears in *The Oregonian*, March 2, 1877, p. 2.

For Mrs. Whitman's letters, as compiled by Frances Fuller Victor, see *The Oregonian*, August 4, 1901, p. 12. These letters appear at length in *Transactions* of Oregon Pioneer Association, 1891, pp. 40–46, 79–179; 1893, pp. 53–219. For estimate and review of Whitman's work, by Frances Fuller Victor, *The Oregonian*, November 6, 1884. For review in support of Mrs. Victor, by Elwood Evans, *ibid.*, December 25, 1884, p. 3; reply, by Myron Eells, *ibid.*, January 11, 1885; reply to Mrs. Victor, by William H. Gray, *ibid.*, February 1, 1885; reply to Elwood Evans, by Myron Eells,

ibid., February 8, 1885; reply to Elwood Evans, by Ed. C. Ross, *ibid.*, February 15, 1885; further review, by Elwood Evans, *ibid.*, March 15, 1885; reply to Elwood Evans, by Myron Eells, *ibid.*, May 21, 1885; letter from Yoncalla writer to William I. Marshall, *ibid.*, June 24, 1885, p. 3; narrative of Whitman's relations with Hudson's Bay Company, *ibid.*, January 24, 1886; the Whitman side upheld by Perrin B. Whitman, *ibid.*, July 2, 1888; reply, by Matthew P. Deady, discrediting the story, *ibid.*, July 31, 1888; reply to Deady, by Ed. C. Ross, *ibid.*, August 10, 1888; review, by Frances Fuller Victor, *ibid.*, March 29, 1891; review, by George H. Himes, *ibid.*, July 14, 1895, p. 9 (more pro-Whitman than his later opinions); review, by Harvey K. Hines, discrediting the story, *ibid.*, October 27, 1895, p. 21; by George H. Himes (criticism of the Nixon book and defense of the Whitman story), *ibid.*, November 21, 1895; reply to Himes, by Harvey K. Hines, *ibid.*, November 25, 1895, p. 4; review, by unsigned writer, discrediting Whitman story, *ibid.*, December 4, 1895, p. 8; Whitman's importance upheld by John Minto, *ibid.*, January 27, 1896, p. 2; denial of Whitman story and reply to Himes, by Nineveh Ford, *ibid.*, June 17, 1896, p. 9; review of Whitman's career, by Harvey K. Hines, *ibid.*, June 12, 13, 1897; reply to Hines, by Myron Eells, *ibid.*, June 27, 1897, p. 9; reply to Eells, by Harvey K. Hines, *ibid.*, July 2, 1897, p. 7; Whitman story discredited by Almoran Hill, pioneer of 1843, *ibid.*, July 29, 1897, p. 8; pro-Whitman review, by George H. Himes, *ibid.*, November 26, 1897, p. 7; reply to Himes, by Harvey K. Hines, *ibid.*, December 1, 1897, p. 7; relations between Whitman and Jason Lee, by H. K. Hines, *ibid.*, May 7, 1899, p. 23; the Whitman story discredited by Preston W. Gillette, *ibid.*, February 26, 1900, p. 5; reply, by John Minto, citing Whitman's aid to migration of 1843, *ibid.*, March 4, 1900, p. 23; the "legend" repudiated by the American Historical Association at Ann Arbor, Michigan, *ibid.*, January 3, 1901, p. 5; reply, by Stephen B. L. Penrose, *ibid.*, January 21, 1901, p. 9; summary of Professor Edward G. Bourne's address before American Historical Association, at Detroit, *ibid.*, March 10, 1901, p. 3; reply to Bourne, by A. W. Ackerman, *ibid.*, March 15, 1901, p. 8; reply to Bourne, by Myron Eells, *ibid.*, September 1, 1901, p. 10; also, September 8, 1901, p. 12; further statement by Professor Bourne, *ibid.*, February 28, 1902, p. 6; reply to Bourne, by Myron Eells, *ibid.*, May 31, 1903, p. 15; review against Whitman story, by T. C. Elliott, *ibid.*, November 24, 1901, p. 11; statement by William I. Marshall, *ibid.*, September 3, 1902; reply to Marshall, by Dr. William A. Mowry, *ibid.*, October 19, 1902, p. 31; reply to Marshall, by Myron Eells, *ibid.*, January 18, 1903, p. 25; criticism of Wilkes' narrative as to 1843 migration, by Joseph Schafer, *ibid.*, January 20, 1903, p. 14; reply to Eells, by William I. Marshall, *ibid.*, February 8, 1903, p. 12; reply to Schafer, as to

Wilkes' narrative, by Marshall, *ibid.*, March 8, 1903, p. 3; reply to Marshall, by Joseph Schafer, *ibid.*, March 29, 1903, p. 22; defense of the Wilkes narrative, by William I. Marshall, *ibid.* (three articles), September 13, 1903, p. 37; September 20, 1903, p. 37; September 27, 1903, p. 37; comment on Wilkes' narrative, by Joseph Schafer, *ibid.*, November 1, 1903, p. 31; criticism of Whitman fictions, by William I. Marshall, *ibid.*, March 26, August 13, 20, 27; September 3, 1905; reply to Marshall, by Cyrus H. Walker, *ibid.*, September 3, 1905, p. 45; reply to Marshall, by Myron Eells, *ibid.* (two articles), December 10, 1905, p. 41; December 17, 1905, p. 45; also by Myron Eells, *ibid.* (two articles), "Seven Mistakes of Marshall," July 8, 1906, p. 44; July 15, 1906, p. 44; defense of the Whitman side, by Cyrus H. Walker, *ibid.*, January 6, 1907, p. 48. See also *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. III, pp. 3–62. For bibliography of Whitman, see *Bulletin* of the University of Washington, University Studies, 202, by Charles W. Smith.

Note 1, p. 227. Fort Hall was built by Nathaniel J. Wyeth in 1834, and named "in honor of the oldest gentleman in the concern" (Wyeth's journal). It was on the left bank of Snake River, about nine miles above the mouth of Portneuf River, in a bottom land area, above the confluence of the two streams. Snake River has a wide area of low land, from American Falls northward, extending beyond Fort Hall, some two miles wide, on the east or left bank. Portneuf River also has a wide area of low land from Pocatello westward for twenty miles. Wyeth sold Fort Hall, in 1836, to the Hudson's Bay Company. In the pioneer migration period, the place was of high importance on the Oregon Trail. Cantonment Loring was maintained near there by the United States Government, and a military post was maintained later to the northward, east of the present town of Blackfoot. Fort Hall was the first post of the Hudson's Bay Company passed by the Oregon pioneers. Wyeth's second fort was Fort William, on Sauvie's Island, near the present city of Portland, Oregon. His third fort was to be at Salt Lake. For history of Fort Hall, by Miles Cannon, see *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. VII, pp. 217–32. See also views of Fort Hall in report of Quartermaster Cross, of the Oregon Rifle Regiment, in 1849.

In the same year that Nathaniel J. Wyeth built the post, Fort Hall, on Snake River, near the Portneuf, in 1834, the Hudson's Bay Company built Fort Boise, as an offset. Thomas McKay was the clerk who built the first Fort Boise, and the location was on the Boise River, eight or ten miles above its mouth, as then flowing. This was a small affair, intended to keep the Indians from going to Fort Hall. In 1838 the fort was rebuilt on the right bank of the Snake, about two miles below the mouth of the Boise; but later the channel of the Boise cut through the bottom lands further

north, and entered the Snake immediately at Fort Boise, and in course of time destroyed the fort itself, after it was abandoned in 1855. The Boise River was first known as Reid's River, and that name is in the Ross and Ogden journals as late as 1824–25. The name *Boise* (that of Boise River) is from a French word meaning "woody." The story goes that it was so named by the French-Canadians of Captain Bonneville's expedition. Coming upon the river and seeing the trees, they exclaimed: "*Les bois, les bois; Voyés les bois!*" "The woods, the woods; see the woods!" This story is of doubtful origin. Boise River gave the name to Fort Boise, and later to the city of Boise. The name is not *Boisé*. Fort Boise, the military post of the United States, was about forty miles above old Fort Boise, on Boise River, near the present city of Boise. It was established in 1863.

Note 1, p. 230. Whitman College, of Walla Walla, Washington, was created in 1882 out of a reorganization of Whitman Seminary, a Congregational institution, which had opened October 13, 1866. Alexander Jay Anderson was the first college president. Cushing Eells, in 1883–84, raised $12,000 for the college in Eastern cities. The first seminary principal was the Reverend P. B. Chamberlain. The legislature of Washington Territory chartered the seminary on December 20, 1859. Dr. D. S. Baker gave land for the site of the college, and gift of funds by Walla Walla citizens built a two-story wooden schoolhouse. A foremost leader in the organization and growth of the institution was the Reverend Cushing Eells. The legislature of Washington Territory chartered Whitman College on November 28, 1883, the trustees being Elkanah Walker, George H. Atkinson, Elisha S. Tanner, Erastus S. Joslyn, W. A. Tenney, H. H. Spalding, John C. Smith, James Craigie and Cushing Eells.

The first college building was erected in 1883 at a cost of $16,000, given by citizens of Walla Walla. The seminary building was remodeled in 1884 as a dormitory for girls; the money for which was raised by gifts in New England by Mrs. Elvira Cobleigh. The American College and Education Society, of Boston, Massachusetts, later the Congregational Education Society, placed Whitman on its list of institutions to be aided in 1883, and was the source of many gifts to the college. In 1893 D. K. Pearsons, of Chicago, gave $50,000, and citizens of Walla Walla and friends of the college elsewhere gave $150,000 additional. In 1898 Dr. Pearsons gave an additional $50,000, and others gave $33,000 for new buildings. Dr. Pearsons gave a subsequent $50,000 in 1902 for endowment, and others gave funds for a men's dormitory. In 1912 friends of the college gave $213,146.30. In 1913 the sum of $150,000 was received from the John D. Rockefeller fund for higher education, and the sum of $375,000 additional was pledged by others. In 1919 the endowment fund amounted to $678,206.99, and the

value of the college buildings, grounds and equipment was $475,224.48 (*Catalogue of Whitman College, 1919*).

Note 1, p. 232. A history of Congregationalism in Oregon appears in *The Oregonian*, October 9, 1898, p. 22, February 6, 1910, by the Reverend D. B. Gray. See also *The Oregonian*, January 2, 1893, p. 18; July 13, 1901 (Forest Grove), November 25, 1894, p. 3 (Oregon City), June 14, 1881, p. 1 (Portland). Construction of the First Congregational Church, of Portland, Oregon, Park and Madison streets, began in 1890 and was finished in 1895. The first service in the building took place January 13, 1895; dedication, July 14, 1895. The cost was $93,298.50. The corner stone was laid August 16, 1891. For history of the large bell of this church, *ibid.*, March 9, 19, 1872. The bell weighs 1511 pounds. For history of the Congregational Church at Walla Walla, *ibid.*, February 3, 1905; at Olympia, *ibid.*, May 3, 1873, p. 3.

CHAPTER X

Note 3, p. 233. "To him (John Floyd), unquestionably, belongs the credit of first proposing in Congress the actual occupation of the Columbia River country by the United States Government, of promoting the settlement and of organizing it into a territory with the name *Oregon*, and, finally, of persistently urging these measures for years" (address by Edward Gaylord Bourne, at the Historical Congress, Lewis and Clark Exposition, at Portland, 1905. See Oregon Historical Society *Quarterly*, vol. VI, p. 261). Floyd was a member of Congress, 1817–29. He was born in 1783; died in 1837. Floyd was the first to propose *Oregon* as the name of the Columbia River country, says Professor Bourne. Floyd's work for Oregon in Congress was between 1820 and 1829. "He, more than any one of his day," said Bourne in the address quoted, "was the unwearied prophet of the commercial future of the Pacific Northwest." For narrative of Floyd's service to Oregon, see the Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol XIX, pp. 112–33, by Lester Burrell Shippee.

Note 1, p. 234. John Floyd, on December 17, 1822, in the House of Representatives, said:

"I know that much has been said relative to the occupation of the Columbia, or Oregon, and that the measure has been by some called fanciful, and I a bold projector; against which, in the outset, I must protest, as I have always conceived persons of that character to be often governed by motives other than the good of their country, though the Nation may sometimes even be benefited by them. I hope, however, to show, in this, that benefits will result to the public, and, at most, it is only acting promptly, upon precisely the same principle which has directed the progress of population from

the moment the English first landed in Virginia, until it has penetrated far into the bosom of the forest." Floyd said further: "All contemplate with joy the time when these states shall extend to the Rocky Mountains. Why not, then, to the Pacific Ocean? . . . As to distance, I have shown that, in point of time, the mouth of Oregon, or Columbia, is not further distant than Louisville was thirty years ago from New York, or Saint Louis was, twenty years ago, from Philadelphia."

Note 4, p. 234. John Minto is a leading authority, among early pioneers, on subjects of Oregon history. His contributions to the written history of Oregon are of high value. He was born October 10, 1822 at Wylam, Northumberland, England; came to the United States in 1840, with his father's family; came to Oregon in 1844; died at Salem February 25, 1915. For biography and portrait, see *The Oregonian*, April 27, 1901, p. 10; his history of sheep in Oregon, *ibid.*, November 11, 1863, p. 4; his discussion of the songs of the pioneers, *ibid.*, March 17, 1904, p. 7; his recital of pioneers along Columbia River in 1845, *ibid.*, February 1, 1904, p. 5. He wrote frequently for the Oregon historical *Quarterly*. His narration of the migration of 1844 appears in *Transactions* of Oregon Pioneer Association, 1876, pp. 35–50.

Note 1, p. 237. On June 15, 1883, W. Lair Hill delivered an address before the Oregon Pioneer Association at Salem, in which he said early pioneers had come to Oregon for adventure or for new homes, rather than to "save" the country to the United States. Said he: "But the inference which has been too often drawn from these premises, that the Oregon pioneer was prompted to undertake the toilsome and weary march across the continent in the face of dangers, seen and unseen, by a patriotic desire to save this goodly land to the United States, and plant the banner of republican liberty on the shores of the Pacific, is contradicted by patent facts and contrary to common reason. . . . The truth is — and historic criticism will so settle it — no such thoughts engaged the mind of the early immigrants, or of the later, till after their pilgrimage was accomplished" (*The Oregonian*, June 16, 1883). William H. Gray's letter, criticizing this address, appears in *The Oregonian* of July 4, 1883. It quotes from speeches of Senator Benton, who urged pioneers to occupy Oregon. Hill's reply was published, *ibid.*, July 14, 1883, p. 1. His position was sustained by a letter of James W. Nesmith, *ibid.*, July 10, 1883, p. 1, who said the pioneers had come to Oregon for self-betterment or missionary purposes. William Lair Hill is a lawyer of Oakland, California. He was editor of *The Oregonian* in 1872–77. He was born August 20, 1838 in Tennessee, and came to Oregon in 1853. A pen sketch of Mr. Hill, by Harry Murphy, appears in *The Oregonian*, January 17, 1908.

Note 2, p. 243. James Willis Nesmith (1820–85) was one of the brilliant men in early Oregon political affairs. In training, education, manners and achievements, he was an Oregon-made man. As United States senator, in 1861, he threw his support to the Union. His predecessor, Senator Joseph Lane, had given support to the secession cause. Nesmith's service, as senator, was the crowning work of a vigorous and influential life. For description of his grave and epitaph, see *The Oregonian*, May 8, 1895, p. 3; for tribute from U. S. Grant, *ibid.*, March 13, 1901, p. 8; for episodes of Nesmith's life, *ibid.*, July 18, 1897, p. 6; for narrative of the burial of Nesmith, by Matthew P. Deady, *ibid.*, June 21, 1885, p. 5; for biographical sketch, by his daughter, Harriet McArthur, see *Transactions*, Oregon Pioneer Association, 1886, p. 28. For his address on Oregon history before the Oregon Pioneer Association in 1875, see *Transactions* of this association, pp. 42–62; for his narrative of the pioneer party of 1843, *ibid.*, 1880, pp. 8–27.

CHAPTER XIII

Note 1, p. 257. The "beaver" money mint was owned by a partnership called the Oregon Exchange Company, consisting of W. K. Kilborne, Theophilus Magruder, James Taylor, George Abernethy, W. H. Willson, W. H. Rector, J. G. Campbell and Noyes Smith. The dies are now in possession of the Oregon Historical Society. The coins were known as "beaver" money. About 6000 five-dollar pieces were coined, and 2850 ten-dollar pieces. The coins were overweight, and, therefore, soon disappeared. Organization of Oregon as a territory also displaced the "beaver" coins. The provisional government was preparing to set up a mint when Congress created Oregon Territory. See narrative, by D. J. Shively, *The Oregonian*, September 9, 1896, p. 4; *ibid.*, June 27, 1892, p. 4; *ibid.*, June 30, 1901, p. 10, by F. H. Saylor; *ibid.*, July 7, 1901, p. 5; *ibid.*, April 23, 1872, p. 3; for narrative, by J. G. Campbell, *ibid.*, December 6, 1866, p. 3. The act of the provisional government, authorizing the coinage, was approved by Governor Abernethy February 16, 1849, but, before it became effective, Governor Lane instituted the territorial government, which nullified the act. On one side of the ten-dollar piece was inscribed: "Oregon Exchange Company, 10 D. 20 G. native Gold Ten D." On the other side appeared a facsimile of a beaver and seven stars and the initials, K. M. T. R. C. S., being those of members of the coinage company. The five-dollar coins bore initials of all members of the company, A. and W., in addition to the foregoing.

Journey of Peoria Party to Oregon

(By Sarah Maria Scott Kelty,[1] *The Oregonian*, June 18, 1890)

Fifty or more years ago this far-off country of Oregon, although a wild and unsettled region and inhabited only by uncouth and untaught savages, was occasionally mentioned as a land of uncommon promise and great future possibilities. These, however, would not have so soon reached a grand fulfillment but for the intrepid daring and dauntless bravery of our early pioneers. All honor to those still left of that noble band, who, in the fire and vigor of their young manhood, plunged boldly forth into the wilderness then known as the Great American Desert, determined to cross it and seek homes in the wonderful lands that were said to border on the Pacific.

The time of which I write was a full decade earlier than that of the great gold excitement, that caused thousands of men of the East and Middle West to catch their loved ones in a hurried embrace and shout "good-by" backward, over their shoulders, to the sobbing group of wife and children left standing in the dooryard, striving to catch a last glimpse of the husband and father as he disappeared, his face in the direction of the setting sun. A plunge into "Darkest Africa" would not be more dreaded by waiting ones left at home to-day, should husbands, sons or brothers make such an attempt, than was the plunge into the then great Western wilds of the North American continent.

The mystic islands of foreign seas are quite as familiar to the common country folks of to-day as was the Pacific Ocean to those of a similar class nearly half a century within the past. Their ideas of this vast and peaceful body of water were gathered chiefly from a picture in their children's geography which represented Balboa kneeling upon the top of a precipitous crag, which he must have had wings to scale, with folded hands and eyes in fine frenzy rolling, thanking God (presumably) for the discovery of the Western sea.

However, it is not my purpose to descant at length on the adventures of the gold seekers, but to recount some of the incidents and perils in the lives of our earliest pioneers. Adventurous men were they, ready for anything that might come up in the way of danger and of daring. Bravery, coolness and courage, the necessary attributes to success in perilous undertakings, were fully experienced by these heroes of the early days of Oregon, the adventures of a few of whom I will now attempt to relate.

In the spring of 1839, just fifty-one years ago, a party of young men, imbued with the spirit of adventure, having started from different states

[1] Sister of Harvey W. Scott. See vol. I, p. 275.

and localities, strangers to each other in the outset, yet coming together by a common impulse in pursuit of the same object, discovered that all were bound for a new country. They were young and full of vigor, doubtless the pride and hope of fond parents; and these would, in all probability, have mourned less to see the grave close over their sons, than to see them depart into that vast and unknown wilderness.

Nineteen young men [1] comprised the company of which I speak. They met together in Peoria, Illinois, to perfect plans for their journey, decide on quantity and quality of provisions, obtain suitable animals for carrying supplies, etc.

They left the above mentioned place about the first of May, plentifully supplied with provisions, blankets and other necessaries, chief among which were guns and plenty of ammunition. No pioneer of early days considered himself properly equipped without the two last named articles, these being essential, both as a means of self protection in times of danger, and as an aid in keeping the wanderers supplied with fresh meats.

These men traveled without particular incident in the way of danger or hardship; slowly, it is true, but none the less surely, until early in October, when they reached a sort of settlement on Green River,[2] where a few earlier pioneers than themselves had established a sort of trading post for emigrants.[3] Indians, with their squaws and papooses, were numerous in this settlement, but there were no white women or children. The place was called "Brown's Hole,"[4] from the fact that a number of years before a white man named Brown had been murdered by the Indians there.[5] As nearly as the spot can be located on the map, it must have been on the western border of Colorado, in the Rocky Mountains, and perhaps 1000 miles to the east of us.

It was the intention of our friends to renew their supplies and push on

[1] Some of the accounts give sixteen as the number of the party, others seventeen, eighteen and nineteen. Robert Shortess names nineteen, saying that the company consisted of "platoons of four men each, sixteen men and two officers all told," and that a nineteenth, William Blair, joined them at Arkansas River. See *Transactions*, Oregon Pioneer Association, 1896, pp. 92–97.

[2] At this place the men remaining in the party were Amos Cook, Francis Fletcher, Joseph Holman, Ralph L. Kilbourne and Robert Shortess. Shortess soon left the party and went ahead to Fort Hall with Robert Newell and Joseph L. Meek. All the other members had either returned or detached themselves from the party.

[3] A trading post here was owned by Thompson, Craig and Saint Clair, and called Fort Crockett. Newell and Meek were there at the arrival of the Peoria party members. See *Transactions* of the Oregon Pioneer Association, 1896, p. 99.

[4] Brown's Hole is known in modern times as *Brown's Park*. This valley was much frequented by fur trappers, who at one time maintained a post there. Green River flows through this valley for a distance of twenty-five miles, the width of the valley being five or six miles, hemmed in by mountains. The river flows in and out of this valley through deep canyons, between the states of Utah and Colorado. See vol. I, p. 214.

[5] Or, it may be the name of a trader who first did business in the valley (Chittenden, *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, p. 748).

to the completion of their journey before the winter had so far advanced as to render such a course impracticable, if not impossible. But from this step they were dissuaded by the principal trader and business man in the settlement,[1] who knew what perils would be likely to overtake them at that season in the way of severe cold, deep snow in the mountains and consequent lack of food for their animals. A large majority of the party, however, had recently decided that, instead of going to Oregon, they would change their course and go to California. Accordingly, twelve of the number [2] packed their mules and set out in the direction lately determined upon, leaving the four others, who resolved to act on the advice of the trader above referred to and remain in Brown's Hole until the early spring.

It is with these that the remainder of this article has to do, the facts being related to the writer by the only survivor[3] of the little band of four, then young and sturdy men. While not relishing the idea of passing the winter in the midst of an Indian camp, these men yet determined to make the best of existing circumstances, and prepared to spend the intervening time, that must elapse before the continuation of their journey, as comfortably as possible. A rude shelter was soon built in the shape of a log hut similar to others in the camp, both the whites and Indians having sufficient forethought to provide in a substantial way against the rigors of the winter. Although owning but few tools, the principal implement being the trusty ax, their resources of energy and determination enabled them to overcome obstacles to such a degree that in a very short space of time their temporary home was completed and they felt that for a while, at least, they must be content to rest from their travels and live in anticipation of the coming spring, when they hoped that all impediments to their proceeding further west would be removed.

There was a sufficiency of buffalo and other wild game within a radius of a few miles of their camp, the daily hunting of which tended to prevent enforced idleness, which contingency would have been a severe trial to these active and energetic young men of half a century ago. All had the true hunter's love of sport, and daily feasted on the delicious meats brought down by the unerring aim of their rifles. Although these hunting expeditions were always fraught with more or less danger on account of the possible treachery of Indians, as well as of attacks from wild beasts, these daring pioneers rather gloried in hair-breadth escapes, and seemed to enjoy the dangers and perils attendant upon their frequent feats of daring.

[1] Either Craig or Newell or Meek, who went forward with Shortess. He may have dissuaded the others from proceeding on account of lack of supplies or difficulties of winter travel.

[2] These twelve were not members of the Peoria party. That party had now dwindled to four: Cook, Fletcher, Holman and Kilbourne.

[3] Amos Cook. He died February 3, 1895; Joseph Holman, June 25, 1880; Francis Fletcher, October 7, 1871. Ralph L. Kilbourne died supposedly in California.

In this way they passed four months, and the first of February, 1840, was at hand. Subsequent events proved that it would have been much better for them to continue their journey the October previous, as they had at first intended to do. They had not suffered from cold during the winter, their camp being in a sheltered place and surrounded on all sides by mountains. Food had been plentiful, the traders having on hand a bountiful supply of flour, etc., while, as before stated, their rifles had provided the meats. They were expecting to remain in camp about two months longer, when word was received that a party of hostile Indians was bearing in that direction. The whites, fully aware of the treachery of the red man in those early days, decided to abandon the camp at once, and take their chances of reaching Fort Hall,[1] a point some 700 miles farther westward. The four young men of whom I write did not make the venture alone. All the other whites in the camp, including the trader before mentioned, decided that it was best for all who valued the safety of their scalps to leave before the arrival of the much dreaded savages.

The trader,[2] to whom all looked for advice, on account of his previous experience in traversing the route, told them it was ordinarily a twelve days' journey, but that they would take a sufficient amount of provisions to last a few days over that time, in case of unavoidable delay. The provision was a wise one, as undreamed of delay was in store for them. As each day's traveling brought them deeper into the heart of the mountains, the depth of snow increased and more was continually falling, rendering their progress, of necessity, very slow. There were some days that no grazing spots could be found for their jaded and trembling beasts, and the party would consider themselves lucky if they came to a mountain side from which the fierce wind had swept the snow, leaving bare spots where the bunch grass grew, though ever so sparingly. They would then give their famishing horses opportunity to graze, thus in a measure recuperating the miserable animals, and so continue the journey.

But lack of food for their horses came to be but a small consideration in comparison with what was to follow. Their unexpectedly slow progress caused their own provisions to fall short before one-half the distance had been covered. The journey which they had expected to complete in twelve or fifteen days, at most, lengthened into weeks, and food became so scarce that daily rations had to be sparingly issued. No game was to be had, and they lived upon bread alone, and very small portion of that, for about ten days. Finally, when they were almost on the verge of starvation, a dog

[1] For note on Fort Hall, see vol. I, p. 304. Francis Ermatinger was then in charge of Fort Hall.

[2] This was Robert Newell, according to Joseph Holman's narrative in Evans' *History of the Pacific Northwest*, vol. I, p. 217.

belonging to the trader was killed and eaten. The narrator states that "it was not very good eating, but was better than starving to death," as all must have done, without it. By dint of saving and care, they made this questionable article of food last till they reached Fort Hall, just two months from the time of leaving the camp at Brown's Hole.

Feed for their horses could not be had at Fort Hall, and grass was poor and scarce, so these four young men, acting on the advice of some of the settlers, took their animals out to the foothills, several miles from the fort. Here they found excellent grass, and decided to remain until their beasts should be able to regain some of their lost flesh and strength. Here they built a sort of shanty, and stayed several weeks. There was a band of friendly Indians in the vicinity with whom they were on friendly terms. It was the intention of our friends to remain for some time at this camp, but, learning that another party of pioneers expected to push on to Fort Boise,[1] they made hasty preparations and joined them — for in those early days emigrants liked to band together in as large companies as possible, when traveling. Fort Boise was reached, no special incident occurring during the journey. But after our friends had been in camp at the latter place for a few days, the exciting news was brought from Fort Hall that the same party of hostile Indians, from whom they had fled when leaving Brown's Hole, had made a raid upon some of the settlers round Fort Hall, killing several white men and also the friendly Indians before alluded to, who were occupying the shanty just vacated by our four young friends. The attack occurred on the night of the same day they had left, said the narrator, in speaking of the instance, "so you see we came just that near losing our scalps."

They tarried at Fort Boise but a short time, the remainder of their journey being comparatively free from exciting incident or hardship. Two of the four — "for they paired off, two and two, as particular friends and partners" — took up claims in the famed and fertile county of Yamhill.[2] The two others settled in a more distant locality.[3] Three out of the four have died — two, a number of years since,[4] and one, ten years ago.[5] The survivor[6] is a hale and vigorous old man, well along in the seventies, whose name I would be glad to give, withholding it only by his special request. To a question regarding the fewness of white women and children at that early day, he says there were none here except those belonging to the missionary societies. White men were also seldom seen outside of the mission.

[1] For note on Fort Boise, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, pp. 304–305.
[2] Amos Cook and Francis Fletcher. They took adjoining land claims near Lafayette.
[3] Holman settled at Salem. Kilbourne participated in building the *Star of Oregon*, and went to California.
[4] Francis Fletcher and Ralph L. Kilbourne. [5] Joseph Holman.
[6] Amos Cook; see vol. I, pp. 214–15; vol. V, pp. 210–12.

ary settlements. In the summer of 1842 he and his partner decided that both could not afford to settle down and till their land, when the work of one would be sufficient; so they came to the conclusion that one had better go to the Wheatland mission,[1] where he could obtain work for fair wages, while the other remained and improved their claim. But this is best told in the narrator's own words. Said he: "My partner declared he could not stand it to live alone all summer, and I told him I could, if necessary; so the lot fell to me to stay. Indians were quite often seen in those days, but in the whole summer I saw but two white men, and those I had no chance to speak with. They were traveling along the road while I was at work in the field. Lonesome? Yes. Considerably. But one can get used to anything. The Indians would often come and surround a huge kettle of boiled wheat which I had prepared for the hogs, and, peacefully dipping it up with their fingers, would eat with evident satisfaction and relish."

I might narrate many incidents in this lonely life, but my accumulating pages admonish me that I must desist. I will add but one thought more. As Oregon's earliest pioneers become few in numbers and old in years, let us give them their full meed of honor and praise, realizing, to the full, how deeply our fair and beautiful young state is indebted to them for its present prosperity, the foundation of which was laid in the commission of those early deeds of daring and bravery.

Compiler's Note

Of the nineteen men who composed the Peoria party, eight came to Oregon, the first of them being Robert Shortess. The next to arrive were Thomas J. Farnham, Sidney Smith and William Blair, who separated at Fort Walla Walla. The next group to reach Oregon was composed of Amos Cook, Francis Fletcher, Joseph Holman and Ralph L. Kilbourne.

Others of the Peoria party were: Owen Garrett, Thomas Pickett and —— Moore, who left the party at Osage River and returned to Peoria; J. Quinn Jordan, Chauncey Wood and —— Pritchet, who separated from the party at Bent's Fort on Arkansas River, southeast of Denver, and went to New Mexico; O. A. Oakley and Joseph Wood, who turned back at Fort Saint Vrain, on South Platte River, north of Denver; Charles Yates, who there left for New Mexico; Robert Moore, who left the party at Fort Saint Vrain, and James Trask, who returned to Peoria. Farnham, Smith and Blair separated from the main party at Bent's Fort, and thence proceeded as a group by themselves. At Bent's Fort eight members remained in the main party, which number finally dwindled to four: Cook, Fletcher, Holman and Kilbourne. See Joseph Holman's narrative in

[1] This was the Lee mission, opposite Wheatland, on the Willamette River.

Evans' *History of the Pacific Northwest*, vol. I, pp. 216-18; Robert Shortess' narrative in *Transactions* of Oregon Pioneer Association, 1896, pp. 92–107. The diary of Sidney Smith is in possession of his son, J. U. Smith, who lives near Newberg, Oregon. See also Farnham's *Travels in the Great Western Prairies*. The foregoing narrative was written by Sarah Maria Scott Kelty, sister of Harvey W. Scott, and published in *The Oregonian* June 18, 1890, p. 10. It is the narrative of Amos Cook. See this compilation, vol. I, pp. 129, 214, 229, 237, for references to the Peoria party.

Woman's Station in Pioneer Days

(By Catharine Amanda Scott Coburn, [1] *The Oregonian*, August 12, 1900)

Having been asked to define or describe woman's station in pioneer days, I, intuitively, after the manner of woman, respond: Woman's station in pioneer days was that of the true woman in all times and conditions — faithfulness to duty; unselfish devotion to the interests of the family; loyal support of patriotic and religious interests and primitive church institutions; prompt to answer the call of neighborhood needs; ready, in brief, for the duty that lay nearest. Woman filled her station in the pioneer era as she has filled it in all eras of the world's progress — helpfully, cheerfully, and with daily widening purpose.

Coming down to detail, however, I find the storehouse of memory full of incidents that can readily be offered in support of the assumption that woman's place in pioneer life — in what, in these days, we term "state building" — was one of specific as well as of general importance. In evidence of woman's patriotism and of her ascetic, as well as material, manner of expressing it, in the good old days, I recall the celebration of the Fourth of July at Lafayette,[2] Yamhill County,[3] Oregon, in 1854.

Some weeks before, the women of the village, under the leadership of Mrs. A. R. Burbank,[4] still, with her honored husband,[5] a resident of that

[1] For notes on Catharine A. Coburn, sister of Harvey W. Scott, see vol. I, pp. 9, 275.

[2] For note on Lafayette, Oregon, see vol. II, p. 30. When the Scott family came to Oregon, in 1852, Lafayette was an important center of political and commercial activity. It then had fifteen merchandise stores.

[3] For creation of Yamhill County, see vol. II, p. 14.

[4] Mary E. Eckles Burbank, wife of A. R. Burbank, was born near Milford, Delaware, January 14, 1827. She was married in 1845 near Naples, Illinois. She came with her husband to Oregon in 1853. They left no surviving children.

[5] A. R. Burbank came to Oregon, by the Isthmus of Panama, from Illinois. He was born April 15, 1817, near Cincinnati, Ohio. He engaged in mercantile business at Naples, Illinois, until 1849, when he went to California. He returned to Illinois in 1851. He engaged in the mercantile business at Lafayette in 1854–57, at Victoria, British Columbia, in 1857–58, and in the hotel business at Monticello, Washington, in 1859. He returned to Lafayette in 1867, and resumed activities as a merchant. He was a member of the Oregon legislature in 1855–56 and in 1872, and of the Washington legislature, in 1859–62, being president of that body in 1862. He died at Lafayette, Oregon, October 7, 1902.

old pioneer town, engaged to make a flag and present it, through the orator of the day, the late Amory Holbrook,[1] to the Masonic lodge[2] of that place.

The beauty of the banner, as it was given to the breeze with eloquent, patriotic and appreciative words, stirred the latent spark of patriotism in the hearts of all present, and kindled into a glow of enthusiasm, as the speaker concluded, that rent a shout in unison from the lips of the motley little host. The flag was a handsome one, and as fine a sample of "hand sewing" as our grandmothers could have desired. Whether still in the possession of the Masonic lodge, at Lafayette, I am unable to say, but my impression is that it was lost by fire, with other effects of the lodge, some years ago.

Following the oration and the presentation of the flag, came an invitation to a public dinner. Rude, improvised tables were set in the grove; cherished linens from grandmothers' looms, that had been brought by ox team express across the plains, covered the unsightly boards; sprigs of fir and cedar, bouquets of hollyhocks and pinks, with now and then a bunch of sweet "mission roses"[3] garnished them, and over all the new old flag floated.

The tables were laden with viands prepared by women who were adepts in cookery, as well as in flag-making and table adornment. The patriotic feast made a showing of woman's industry, skill, taste and hospitality that shines, as a bright memory picture, through forty-six intervening years.

In pioneer times, as now, woman was a silent element in politics; but then, as now, individual women were strong partisans and ready, upon occasion, to give a reason for the faith that was within them — not publicly, but with energy in neighborly discussions, and especially when striving to influence the "men folks" of their own families who did the voting, that bespoke their deep convictions of duty to the state.

It is recalled that when, in 1853, General Joseph Lane[4] was, in common

[1] Amory Holbrook was a jurist, orator and writer. He edited *The Oregonian* in 1862–64. He came to Oregon in 1850, from Massachusetts, as United States attorney for the territory. He was born at Rowley, Massachusetts, August 15, 1820; died at Portland, Oregon, September 26, 1866.

[2] Lafayette Lodge, Number 3, Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons, organized in 1851, was chartered by the Grand Lodge of California at Sacramento May 9, 1851. The charter members were: F. B. Martin, Joel Palmer, A. J. Hembree, D. Logan, W. D. Martin, H. D. Garrett, W. J. Martin, J. B. Walling, O. Moore, S. Moore, P. Hibbed, George B. Goudy, S. M. Gilmore, Christopher Taylor, R. Clark and W. Blanchard. This was the third Masonic lodge organized in Oregon, the first having been Multnomah Lodge, Number 1, organized at Oregon City in 1848, chartered by the Grand Lodge of Missouri on October 17, 1846; the second, Willamette Lodge Number 2, having been organized at Portland in 1850 and chartered by the Grand Lodge of California at Sacramento on November 27, 1850.

[3] The "mission rose," so named from a variety that grew at the Lee mission on the Willamette River, was obtained by the Methodist missionaries from the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver. It is a Castilian rose, fragrant and pink, and came from the Spanish settlements in Mexico. It grows profusely in Western Oregon and Washington. Dr. W. F. Tolmie transplanted the variety to Puget Sound.

[4] For note on Joseph Lane, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. II, p. 243. Joseph Lane was delegate to Congress from Oregon Territory in 1851–59; United States senator, in 1859–61.

parlance, "stumping the territory for Congress," women became so imbued with the spirit of partisanism, which is often to this day mistaken for patriotism, that they courageously determined to attend the speaking of the rival candidates, at the court house in Lafayette.[1]

I speak of this town from personal knowledge of it at the time, and submit on testimony, readily obtainable, that it was a representative community of a formative era in our state, though its present sleepy, run-down appearance does not support the statement. The flutter in feminine circles was greater than that proverbially ascribed to the organizing of a sewing society, or the getting up of a minister's donation party. The town was canvassed to learn "who would go," with results (promises) quite satisfactory to the leading spirits of this feverish desire on the part of women to "break into politics," but alas! when the momentous occasion arose, only two women found courage to enter the old court house and take seats therein, and it is recalled that, discovering these toward the close of a violent political and personal harangue, the gallant General Lane apologized for any words unsuited to ears polite that might have escaped his lips when in ignorance of the presence of "the ladies."

It may be added that an apology was due, as politicians of this period were not always as choice of words as decency would dictate. It is claimed, by those who profess to have especial knowledge upon the subject, that the intrusion, as some would say — the introduction, as others would have it — of women into political gatherings, which occurred to a greater or less extent throughout Oregon Territory in the campaign to which reference is made, inaugurated a system of political discussion, in which decency has never since been forgotten in the excitement of political controversy.

Of this, your chronicler does not presume in this place to speak, she being content with recording the first public introduction, so far as she is aware, of women into politics in Oregon, and with adding that, though there was no expression of a desire to vote heard among pioneer women, the sincerity of their desire for knowledge of political questions, then literally convulsing the infant territory, already upon the verge of statehood, is unquestioned.

And when later, the echoes of Civil War came booming across the continent; when "flag-raising" became a feature of community life, and appeal for sanitary supplies for the unready host called to the defense of the Union followed, the women of Oregon, true to their patriotic blood and impulses, responded with an energy and readiness, which proved that the isolation of pioneer life had not separated them from the Nation's heart.

[1] This court house burned that year (1853), and a brick structure took its place some years later. The county seat was moved to McMinnville in 1889.

In the educational work of the pioneer era, woman's station was sharply defined. Leaving the history of the missions, in which the names of Narcissa Whitman,[1] Mary R. Walker,[2] Anna Maria Pittman,[3] Mary Augusta Dix Gray,[4] Eliza Hart Spalding [5] and half a score of others stand for both words and works in their special lines, I will refer to the work, as a pioneer in the founding of an educational institution, of Tabitha Brown,[6] who, away back in the forties, opened a boarding school for children at Forest Grove,[7] which became the stepping stone to Pacific University.[8] This woman's station in pioneer life is one of honor, energy and devotion to duty, as she saw it, and to this extent she is a typical woman of her era. Dying about 1860, at an advanced age, her memory is still honored in the community of which, for many years, she was a leading factor, and by the institution the corner stone of which she helped to lay. A colaborer with Harvey Clark,[9] Horace Lyman [10] and S. H. Marsh,[11] she supplemented their endeavor in woman's ways, after having done yeoman's service in foundation building.

Later in the field, and working in parallel but toward dissimilar lines, was the wife[12] of Professor J. M. Keeler,[13] who was a society leader in the

[1] Narcissa Prentiss Whitman, wife of Marcus Whitman, was born at Plattsburg, New York, March 14, 1808. She was a victim of the massacre at Waiilatpu November 29, 1847. She was married in 1836, and accompanied Marcus Whitman to his missionary field that year.

[2] For note on Mary R. Walker, see this volume, p. 203.

[3] For note on Anna Maria Pittman Lee, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, pp. 299–300.

[4] Mary Augusta Dix Gray was born at Ballston Spa, New York, January 2, 1810; died at Clatskanie, Oregon, December 8, 1881. She was married to William Henry Gray in 1838, and that year crossed the continent with him to the Whitman mission near Walla Walla, and went to the Spalding mission at Lapwai. The Gray family went to the Willamette Valley in 1842. She was active in religious and educational work. See *Oregon Native Son*, pp. 110–11; Gaston's *Centennial History of Oregon*, pp. 579–80; Douthit's *Souvenir of Western Women*, pp. 38–40; *Transactions*, Oregon Pioneer Association, 1897, pp. 89–94.

[5] Eliza Hart Spalding, wife of Henry H. Spalding, the missionary, came to Oregon, in 1836, with her husband and the Marcus Whitman party. She was born at Berlin, Connecticut, July 11, 1807; died at Oregon City January 7, 1851. She was married in 1833. See *Transactions*, Oregon Pioneer Association, 1897, pp. 106–15.

[6] Tabitha Brown was born in 1780 at Brimfield, Massachusetts, the daughter of Dr. Joseph Moffett. She married a minister, Clark Brown, in 1799. She went to Missouri in 1837, and came to Oregon in 1846. In 1848 she started a boarding house for children at Forest Grove, as an aid to the school which Harvey Clark was establishing, and which later grew to be Tualatin Academy and Pacific University. She died in 1857.

[7] For note on Forest Grove, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, pp. 288–89.

[8] For note on Pacific University, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 273.

[9] For note on Harvey Clark, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. II, p. 232.

[10] Horace Lyman devoted himself to religious and educational work in Oregon. He came to Oregon in 1849, from Connecticut. He was born at Easthampton, Massachusetts, November 16, 1815; died at Forest Grove, Oregon, March 31, 1887. He graduated from Williams College in 1842, and from the Andover Theological Seminary, in 1847. He established the first Congregational church at Portland, Oregon, in 1850. He organized a Congregational church at Dallas, Polk County, in 1854, and taught a school which developed into La Creole Academy. From 1857 to 1879 he was a professor in Tualatin Academy and Pacific University. See vol. III, p. 175.

[11] For note on S. H. Marsh, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. II, p. 279.

[12] Sylvia M. Keeler, wife of Julius M. Keeler, died at Napa, California, October 13, 1858, aged thirty-one years.

[13] For note on Julius M. Keeler, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. II, p. 277.

little academic town of Forest Grove in early days, as well as preceptress of Tualatin Academy [1] and supervisor of the home boarding house, in which the young girls of a primitive era were taught table and society "manners."

These women are mentioned as types merely of a class of early educators and workers in the educational field, members of which came in with the establishment of missions at Salem,[2] and were increased by each successive immigration from the "states." The chronicler who shall gather these names with an incident in the life of each woman represented by them, will be entitled to the gratitude of posterity for preserving what would else be the unwritten history of a formative age. Such recital will possess the peculiar quaintness of folk lore, the illustrations of which are drawn from the mystic picture gallery of memory, and chamber of daily dimming shadows.

As actors in the drama of heroism, women in pioneer life make a striking presentment. Whether bidding good-by and Godspeed to the husband, as he answers the call for volunteers to suppress an Indian outbreak that threatened frontier homes; going out to meet the slow caravan of returning comrades who bore their mutilated dead to their door; feeding a band of Indians, solemn and fierce, from their storehouse, against the husband's return from the field, the menacing intruders sharpening their knives upon the grindstone in the dooryard in the intervals of eating;[3] or entering shadows of expected maternity, creeping through bushes and down to the waiting boat, closely followed by the husband, rifle in hand, seeking safety in the blockhouse [4] — the pioneer woman is the same heroic figure — the same brave, enduring, uncomplaining personality.

I am sure we've seen no picture
In the volumes, anywhere,

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[1] For note on Tualatin Academy, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. I, p. 273.

[2] See vol. I, p. 213; vol. II, p. 298.

[3] This was an episode in the family life of John Tucker Scott and his second wife, Ruth Eckler Scott, at Puget Sound at the time of the Yakima War, in 1885. She was alone in the house and pacified the savages by feeding them, while they used the grindstone to sharpen their knives. The men of the family served in the volunteer forces under Governor Isaac I. Stevens.

[4] In November, 1855, Ruth Eckler Scott and John Tucker Scott, her husband, in order to enable her to escape threatened massacre at the hands of the Indians, fled from their cabin, near Shelton, Washington Territory, to the blockhouse at Olympia, where she arrived a few hours before the birth of her daughter, Ellen Scott Latourette, of Oregon City. Ruth Eckler Scott died at Oregon City March 29, 1906, aged seventy-seven years. She crossed the plains in 1852, accompanying the Scott party. Her first husband, George Stevenson, died on reaching The Dalles, Oregon. Commenting on her death, Catharine Amanda Coburn wrote the following for *The Oregonian*, March 30, 1906, p. 8: "In the death of Mrs. Ruth Scott, at Oregon City, Thursday morning, the record of a long life, useful and unselfish, was ended. The homes of the afflicted for many years knew her cheer, and when there was joy in the household of a friend, the joy was hers also. Her long life was one of tender affection, great activity and unostentatious, kindly, ready usefulness. By these tokens she shall live in the hearts of her children and in the remembrance of a wide circle of friends."

Of a tall, athletic woman,
With long and streaming hair,
Going out against the redskins,
To save a fleeing son,
And with her strong hand grasping
Her husband's trusty gun.

Thus sang a local pioneer poet, a son of a pioneer mother, some years ago.[1]

Yet a tragic tale of the border might be thus truly illustrated. The husband and eldest son were set upon and killed by Indians while on the range; a younger son, the shepherd boy, took alarm, and, fleeing toward home, pursued by the savages, was met and escorted in safety to the "inch-board shanty," where the heroic woman kept the foe at bay with her rifle, until succor came, as told by the narrator in verse:

And there on guard we found them,
When four long days had fled,
Half crazed with sleepless watching,
And sorrow for the dead.
And still that faithful mother,
When we came, a saving band,
Stood by the open doorway,
With the rifle in her hand.

Truly, borrowing from Macaulay, we might say:

"Of all the things of daring, done
In the grand days of yore,
A braver deed of arms than this,
Was never seen before."

Woman, in pioneer times, led the van. In this connection I recall, with a glow of admiration and tenderness, the life of Elizabeth Jane, wife of Captain A. F. Hedges,[2] during the cream of pioneer years, residents of Clackamas County. She was one of the most thoroughly competent and genuinely hospitable women whom I have ever known. Married when very young — sixteen or thereabouts — after the manner of pioneer girls; the mother of twelve children, energetic in community work, she yet found time to entertain hospitably and feed royally every one who came to the door of their rambling, weather-beaten old farmhouse, which stood, and still stands, for aught I know, on the hill a mile east of Oregon City.[3] She died some two years ago, but her memory will long be green in the hearts of many who caught the contagion of her cheerful spirit and enjoyed the bounty of her hospitable home.

[1] Oliver C. Applegate, of Klamath Falls, Oregon, son of Lindsay Applegate, Oregon pioneer of 1843. The heroine was Mrs. Sarah Brotherton, who, in the Modoc War of 1873, saved her son from the Indians.

[2] For note on Absalom F. Hedges, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. II, p. 241. His wife, Elizabeth Jane Hedges, daughter of Samuel K. Barlow, came to Oregon in 1845, and was married to Absalom F. Hedges in 1847, and died at Tacoma December 1, 1898.

[3] This house stands on the hill above Canemah, in the settlement known as Mount Pleasant.

Contemporaneous with Mrs. Hedges, and, like her, "given to hospitality," were her sisters-in-law — Martha A.[1] and Rebecca Barlow.[2] Both still survive, the former gentle, genial mistress of the commodious farmhouse near Barlow station [3] that has been her home for nearly a half century.

I recall, in connection with the open-handed hospitality of these Barlow homes, the fact that, during a spasm — if it may be so termed — of religious fervor, lasting perhaps two or three years, and including some half a dozen families, the multitude was veritably and substantially fed, on alternate Sundays, after "service," from tables arranged around three sides of the capacious farmyard barns. All who attended "meetings" were invited, at the close of Brother McCarty's [4] impassioned appeal to "repent, believe and be baptized," to go to the tables (service being also held in the barns) and "help themselves."

Four families, so far as my memory serves, joined in this quaint combination of the religious and the hospitable — the two already mentioned, a family named Huffman,[5] whose home was near Aurora,[6] and William Elliott [7] and wife,[8] of Elliott Prairie. Recalling the scene, the amount of food cooked and dispensed by these hospitable folk upon these occasions, impresses me as having been enormous, and the women, who were chief cooks and caterers, displayed an untiring zeal in the welfare of their numerous guests, and a cheerfulness in serving them that bore the stamp of hospitality, of a type that belongs exclusively to pioneer days, and has vanished with the "free dinner" set out in the grove by patriotic women on the Fourth of July.

[1] Martha Ann Barlow came to Oregon in 1850. She was married to William Barlow March 26, 1852. She died at Barlow station April 20, 1901; was born September 20, 1822. See *The Oregonian*, April 23, 1901, p. 5. She was born at Spottsylvania, Virginia. Her first husband was Dr. William E. Allen, with whom she came to Oregon in 1850, and who died in 1851.

[2] Rebecca Barlow was the wife of James Barlow, who came to Oregon in 1845 and died July 20, 1866, aged forty years, leaving five children. (*The Oregonian*, July 21, 1866.) He was a brother of William Barlow, whose wife was Martha Ann, and a brother of Elizabeth Jane Hedges. Rebecca Barlow's maiden name was Larkins. Her second husband's name was Moore.

[3] Barlow Prairie, at Barlow station, has been the home of the Barlows since 1848, when it was acquired by Samuel K., father of William Barlow. Barlow station, on the Southern Pacific railroad, was named about 1870, when the railroad was constructed there.

[4] Alex V. McCarty was a Campbellite preacher. He died in California.

[5] The family of Jesse G. Huffman and his wife, Morning Estes. They came to Oregon in 1847, and spent the first winter at French Prairie. They lived on their farm near Aurora in 1848–65, and afterwards he operated a sawmill for ten years in Benton County. He was born in Kentucky August 3, 1812; died at Corvallis, Oregon, in 1893. His wife was born in Kentucky in March, 1810, and died at Corvallis in 1885. They were married in 1837.

[6] For note on Aurora, Oregon, see Compiler's Appendix, vol. II, p. 324.

[7] William Elliott came to Oregon in 1846, and settled in Clackamas County on what is called, in his honor, Elliott Prairie. He was born in Knox County, Indiana, September 14, 1815. He served in the Florida War in 1836. He was married to Nancy Sconce in 1838. His death occurred at Park Place, near Oregon City, February 27, 1905. He served in the Cayuse and Yakima wars. Elliott Prairie is east of Hubbard.

[8] Nancy Sconce Elliott came to Oregon with her husband, William Elliott, in 1846. She died January 27, 1888, aged seventy-one years.

Patient toilers of pioneer days! What shall I say of their lonely, isolated lives, into which the coming of the chance or expected visitor was an event; of the lines of weariness that were effaced by smiles of welcome; of the genuine interest displayed in the smallest scrap of news from the world outside, as room was made for another, or yet another plate at table? Dear, faithful types of a vanishing era, may the blessings of the hungry, fed royally at your rude tables, and of the weary, for whom the "best bed" was cheerfully vacated, or the improvised "shake down" was carefully spread, be with you wheresoever, in God's great universe, you are to-day!

Your station in pioneer life was a lowly one, but, filling it with womanly devotion to duty, you cast around it the halo of an abiding tenderness, and surrounded it with the incense of the most tender and gracious memory.

Acquisition of Oregon and the Evidence about Marcus Whitman

A book, *Acquisition of Oregon*, written by the late William I. Marshall, of Chicago, delves into the history of the pioneer period.[1] The labor expended on this book by Professor Marshall was immense. His search into the issues of diplomacy over Oregon, through Government archives and diaries and letters of American diplomatists of the period, 1814–46; his inquiry into records of the executive department, and of Congress; his study of letters and diaries of missionaries and pioneer immigrants between 1832 and 1846 — all this makes a complete and illuminating story of pioneer Oregon.

There is opportunity for best literary skill in the narrative of Oregon. World-wide currents affected discovery, exploration, settlement and acquisition. The narrative turns on the most important episodes of Western progress. There is abundant room, too, for exercise of "philosophy of history."

The Marshall history betokens the energy and vigilance wherewith the author busied himself twenty-eight years. His chief purpose is to explode the Whitman myth. He succeeds admirably. No reader of Marshall — no unbiased reader — hereafter can believe that myth. Few close investigators ever believed it. Every writer of Oregon history must go henceforth to Marshall, as he must go to Greenhow, else must undertake himself the great labor of examining first-hand materials. The facts that Marshall cites are full and true.

Yet the Marshall work has faults. In demolishing the Whitman myth, the author detracts unduly from the heroic character of the Waiilatpu missionary, and from his very valuable participation in pioneer immigration

[1] Lowman and Hanford Company, Seattle, two volumes, 1911. The accompanying article of the compiler was published in the Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. XII, pp. 375–84.

and settlement. Marshall's continuous effort to reduce the importance of Whitman in the "saving" of Oregon leaves too little in the book for admiration of Whitman. Then, too, Marshall injects repeated doses of Whitman myth acrimony; he quarrels with authors of the myth after the manner of the half-century dispute over the question; he shows not enough of the even tenor of the true historian.

Also, Marshall asserts, as corollary of his argument, that Oregon would have been saved had the pioneer Whitman never been born; that Oregon would have been won to the United States from Great Britain without the advent of any of the pioneer parties. This broad assertion — that the occupation of Oregon by American pioneers played no part whatever in establishing the United States claim — cannot be reconciled with the political spirit of the Nation between 1840 and 1846, which drove thousands of American citizens to this region and demanded possession even to the line of "Fifty-four-Forty or Fight."

However, this criticism is of Marshall's conclusions, not of his facts. The evidence is there for the reader to judge.

But for Marshall's untimely death, in 1906, undoubtedly he would have improved this crowning work of his life; perhaps revised some of his conclusions; probably given his book better literary arrangement; certainly fixed himself more firmly as a foremost authority on Oregon history, as he is the very first authority on the Whitman legend. It will not be necessary for anybody hereafter to disprove that legend.

Only 200 copies of the book have been printed. This has been accomplished through contribution of money by some twelve residents of Oregon and Washington, who saw the need of bringing to fruition the life work of Professor Marshall. This effort, headed by C. B. Bagley, of Seattle, has been entirely successful.

Dr. Marcus Whitman needs no false glory; nor does the missionary cause which did great things for Oregon; neither does Whitman College — an ever-growing monument to this patriot hero. Dr. Whitman will be an everlasting figure in Oregon annals; always will be honored by the gratitude of our people. But he was but one character among many, though indeed a foremost one, in occupation of Oregon. He did his duty as missionary, pioneer, citizen, and died a martyr's death. He did not "save" Oregon — that is, he alone did not.

In company with other Americans, Whitman carried the claims of his country to this region, and with them won Oregon from the British. Occupation of Oregon and consequent possession by the United States belongs to no one man, but to many. Jason Lee and his associates, who settled in the Willamette Valley in the critical time, are equal or superior in honor to

Whitman. Before these pioneers, and contemporaneous with them, our diplomatists and statesmen did their part in saving Oregon: Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Richard Rush, Daniel Webster. And before them were others deserving of honor — American explorers: Captain Gray, Lewis and Clark, the Astors, Wyeth. And the thousands of Whitman's contemporary pioneers, who settled in Oregon up to 1846, played a vital part in the acquisition of Oregon.

The journey of Whitman from his mission, near Walla Walla, to Boston, much of it in the dead of winter (1842–43), is a fact of history. But much fiction has fastened to the story. Details of the fiction came into existence many years after Whitman's death, in 1847. Imagination supplied adornments to the tale, one after another.

The legend tells of two Flathead Indians, who had made their way to Saint Louis about 1831, and had been refused the "Book of Heaven" by Governor William Clark, after having been offered unsatisfying forms of Catholic worship. It narrates that Whitman, responding to this Indian call, and spending six years (1836–42) as missionary near these Indians in what is now Eastern Washington, discovered the British and the Hudson's Bay Company, with Catholic aid, taking possession of Oregon. It represents Whitman finally determining (1842) to make for Washington, D.C., to press upon President Tyler and Secretary of State Webster, who were then treating with Britain concerning the Canadian boundary, the claims of the United States and the value of Oregon, and to lead back a large immigration to possess Oregon. The legend pictures Whitman spurred by a party of British traders holding feast at Walla Walla in the autumn of 1842, and exulting that Britain had won the country. It takes Whitman before President Tyler and Secretary Webster, whom he found ready to trade Oregon for a cod fishery off Newfoundland. It puts into the mouth of Webster that Oregon was a "worthless area."

The legend portrays Whitman exacting a promise from the President and his secretary to delay negotiations with Great Britain until Whitman should lead to Oregon the large pioneer train of 1843. It pictures Whitman making speeches and publishing pamphlets on Oregon, endeavoring, in every way, to electrify the country and to induce immigrants to Oregon in 1843. It details him as a "Moses" leading the party of pioneers to Oregon that year, and as being the indispensable overseer. It tells of the officers of the British Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Hall barring the way of the pioneer train and trying to stop the wagons, and of Whitman's resolution in taking the party past the British, wagons and all, to the Columbia River. It represents the success of the wagon immigration and the opening of the wagon route as achievements of Whitman. It avers that this wagon

road, thus opened, was the means of saving Oregon by American pioneers.

Wonder grows, in analyzing this romance, that in these days of enlightenment, of writing and printing, the story could grow to such absurd proportions and to so many fiction details, and that it could gain such wide credence.

No corroboration of these foregoing details of the myth can be found in contemporaneous writings; none in letters of Whitman or of Mrs. Whitman or of any member of his mission; none in the archives of the missionary board in Boston that sent Whitman to Oregon in 1836; none in the archives of the Government or in the letters of Tyler or Webster; none in religious publications of newspapers of the time; none in letters and diaries of leaders of the 1843 immigration, among them P. H. Burnett, Jesse and Lindsay Applegate, J. M. Shively, J. W. Nesmith, Almoran Hill — well-known Oregon pioneers, all of whom, and many more, have denied the Whitman myth.

All this disproof is fully detailed by Professor Marshall in manner completely convincing. And every person to whom Professor Marshall submitted his manuscript was convinced by what he says, except Dr. W. A. Mowry, one of the Whitman myth authors.

Several score persons read Marshall's manuscript, including historians of national and international reputation, professors of history in universities and colleges, teachers of history in normal schools, high schools and academies, principals of schools, judges, clergymen, lawyers, editors and public officers of various kinds — most of whom had been believers in the Whitman-saved-Oregon story, and had supported it in lectures or sermons or in newspapers and magazine articles, or in their school and other histories, and therefore very naturally would have preferred not to have it proved false, and who subjected all criticism of such evidence adverse to it to the most careful, and some of them to the most hostile scrutiny.

Among these critics, Professor Marshall names: George Bancroft, John Fiske, Horace E. Scudder (who was editor of Barrows' *Oregon*); Professors John B. McMaster, of the University of Pennsylvania, Francis N. Thorpe, Harry Pratt Judson, of the University of Chicago; Andrew McLaughlin, formerly of the University of Michigan; Edward Channing, of Harvard University; Allen C. Thomas, of Haverford College; William P. Cordy, superintendent of schools, Springfield, Massachusetts, and "many others."

Then what truth lies behind the legend, and why did Whitman make his famous midwinter "ride"?

Quarrels and dissensions and failure to make progress on the part of Whitman and his associates, had caused the American Board of Foreign

Missions (Congregational, Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed) to order discontinuance of three of the four mission stations, including Whitman's, and recall of two of the missionaries. Whitman and his associates deemed this order fatal to their mission work, and they decided it expedient for Whitman to return to Boston to secure annulment of the order and a reinforcement of clergymen and laymen. Whitman was successful in securing annulment of the order at Boston, where he arrived on March 30, 1843, having left Waiilatpu October 3, 1842.

This midwinter journey was a feat of rare courage and hardihood. But it had no political influence in affairs of Oregon. It had no political purpose. There is no evidence than Whitman interviewed President Tyler or Secretary Webster. Congress adjourned March 4, 1843, when Whitman was at or near Saint Louis, eastbound, just emerging from the frontier, and he could not have reached Washington for more than a month afterwards. There was no disposition to sacrifice Oregon, either on the part of the President or of Congress, then adjourned.

Congress, at the session recently ended, had received the report of Lieutenant Wilkes, more fully describing Oregon than Whitman could do, and was fully alive to the Oregon situation. Secretary Webster, through Senator Choate, announced January 18, 1843, in the Senate, that the secretary of state never had made or entertained a proposition to admit of any boundary line south of the forty-ninth parallel (the boundary fixed in 1846) in negotiations with Ashburton, British plenipotentiary, in 1842, with whom it was alleged Webster was negotiating to trade Oregon, north of the Columbia River, for a cod fishery.

Nor did Whitman make any speeches nor publish pamphlets to arouse the spirit of immigration to Oregon. That spirit was already fully aroused, and the 1843 party assembled near Independence, Missouri, May 20, 1843, with little or no knowledge of Whitman's presence in the East, nor did Whitman join them until several days later. On the journey his counsel and services as physician were valuable, yet not indispensable, and his utility as guide was small.

At Fort Hall the Hudson's Bay Company men made no effort to stay the wagons, nor, if its men had tried, would they have succeeded, since the party was fully equipped to go through. Besides, three wagons had gone through in 1840 — those of J. L. Meek, Robert Newell, Caleb Wilkins and Frederic Ermatinger, British chief trader at Fort Hall. This party was outfitted at the British post, and one of the wagons was owned by Ermatinger.

"This," remarks Marshall, "reduces to senseless drivel all the scores of pages in Barrows, Nixon, Craighead, Mowry, and the other advocates of

the 'Whitman-saved-Oregon' story, which accuses the Hudson's Bay Company of opposing the passage of wagons beyond Fort Hall."

After leaving Fort Boise, Whitman, together with a number of the younger men, put off ahead, and were of no service whatever to the wagon party in crossing Blue Mountains.

Scores of American explorers and pioneers are quoted to show that Hudson's Bay Company did not oppose their going to Oregon, nor their hauling wagons thither. The evidence of Whitman's own writings and those of his wife and his associates shows plainly that his "ride" had no political purpose bearing on Oregon. This, and similar evidence from original sources, never before published, is contained throughout the book.

Marshall shows the first animus of the legend to have been a desire to obtain from the Government $30,000 or $40,000 indemnity for Indian destruction of the mission, through representations that the missionary work, especially Whitman's, had won Oregon from the British, and that the Government had failed to protect Whitman's station. When these representations were made in the sixties, there was keen hostility toward Britain in the United States on account of Civil War matters.

Much new information is presented by Marshall of diplomacy on Oregon between the restoration of Astoria, after the War of 1812, and the final boundary treaty of 1846. This information shows that the United States, from the very first, held out for the forty-ninth parallel, never wavered from that line, never would accept south of that parallel, and finally secured it through President Polk and Secretary of State Buchanan.

This line was proposed in 1818 by President Monroe and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, when the treaty of joint occupation was negotiated, as an offset to the British offer of the Columbia River as a boundary. Monroe, as secretary of state under Madison, and Adams, as one of the peace commissioners, had secured restoration of Astoria in the treaty of 1814 with Britain.

In 1823–24, Secretary Adams renewed the proposal of the forty-ninth parallel to the British government, but the latter again declined. In the negotiations Secretary Adams announced the Monroe doctrine through Henry Middleton, then American minister to Russia, and Richard Rush, then minister to Great Britain.

It is interesting to note that the Monroe doctrine — now an axiom of American diplomacy — was first announced in negotiations with Britain and Russia concerning Oregon. It was intended as a warning to Russian colonization schemes in America, and was supported by Britain. Also it was a warning, backed by Britain, to the holy alliance — France, Prussia, Austria, Russia — which planned to restore to Spain the lost American colonies.

The British then declined, however, the forty-ninth parallel, but in 1824 proposed the forty-ninth parallel westward to the Columbia and thence from that river to the Pacific. This Mr. Rush declined, and again proposed the forty-ninth parallel to the ocean. Thus the British virtually conceded south of the Columbia. In 1826, Adams, then President, instructed Albert Gallatin, plenipotentiary negotiating with Britain the renewal of the 1818 joint treaty, that the forty-ninth parallel was the American "ultimatum." From this "ultimatum" of Adams the American Government never receded. Webster's refusal to accept the Columbia River as boundary in 1842, in negotiations with Ashburton, caused delay in the settlement until 1846.

These negotiations, not before fully examined as to their bearing on the Oregon boundary, convinced Professor Marshall that the Oregon question between the United States and Great Britain was one of diplomacy, and not one of settlement and occupation. It is not probable, however, that Professor Marshall will be sustained in this view. Large influx of American settlers into Oregon, prior to 1846, undoubtedly alarmed Great Britain and finally induced its government to accede to the American "ultimatum" of John Quincy Adams of 1826. But Marshall clearly shows that Whitman could have had no influence on the diplomacy of the question.

Important also is Professor Marshall's proof that the wagon road to Oregon was not Whitman's opening. Three wagons reached the Columbia River from Fort Hall in 1840 — three years before the large wagon party which he is alleged to have guided through in 1843.

The route to the Columbia River was really laid out by fur traders. Marshall finds that certainly 1000 Americans had crossed the Rocky Mountains before Whitman in 1836 — probably 2000. On Whitman's first journey across, in 1836, he was guided by American traders to Green River, and by Hudson's Bay men, thence to Fort Hall and the Columbia River. All the passes through the mountains to the Columbia River and the river routes had been explored before Whitman's advent, and he followed the beaten path of the fur traders. The wagons of traders, explorers and settlers used these trails. It was well known that wagons could go through to the Columbia before Whitman's journeys of 1836 and 1843, and that the only requisites were sufficient equipment and men. The wagons that did go through to the Columbia, in 1840 and 1843, owed nothing to Whitman for the feat.

This review and criticism of the Marshall work, though somewhat extended, touches only briefly the main features of the book. The investigation is one long needed. The Whitman myth has distorted the truth during half a century, and it is time now to accord Dr. Whitman his due as patriot and hero of Oregon, but not as savior of this region.

John Fiske's Change of View on Whitman Legend

John Fiske, the eminent historian, once believed the story that Whitman "saved" Oregon. But later scrutiny changed his view, before his death in 1901.[1]

Mr. Fiske accepted the story in an address delivered by him at Astoria, Oregon, May 1, 1892. But the address, as published in 1909 (*Unpublished Orations*, Boston Bibliophile Society), is wholly revised and rewritten in the part relating to Whitman; the original remarks are expunged and the substitute remarks are expanded. The version, as finally authorized by the historian, eliminates the legend, dismisses as a "fiction of the imagination" the tale that Whitman "saved" Oregon by leading the migration of 1843. William I. Marshall was instrumental in changing the view of Mr. Fiske. Letters exchanged by them after 1892, discussing the subject, are in possession of C. B. Bagley, of Seattle, publisher of Marshall's book, *Acquisition of Oregon*, and have been read by the present writer.

This change of view in the historical eye of Mr. Fiske has important bearing on accepted facts and future researches in Old Oregon annals. Mr. Fiske's Astoria address gave immense weight to the "legend." Lighter authorities found themselves somewhat flattened by the steam roller from Cambridge. But Mr. Fiske heard protests; looked further; reversed his earlier conclusions. Then, unwilling to bequeath the error to posterity, he expunged it and rewrote his Astoria address. He calls Whitman faithful missionary and martyr; speaks of him sympathetically as a daring pioneer, pursuing the westward movement of his time, but withholds from him the title, which the disputed story has conferred during half a century, of "empire saver."

"We do well on this commemorative occasion," says the revised version, "to honor the faithful missionary who endured severe privations, braved great dangers and fell a martyr to the missionary work to which he had devoted his life. But we should do him great injustice to ascribe to him projects of empire for which neither his words nor his acts give any warrant, which necessitate the appropriation to him of the labors of others and require an entire misreading of our diplomatic history in regard to the history of Oregon."

For the sake of true history, it is fortunate that we have the corrected conclusions of Mr. Fiske, so clearly and strongly stated as they appear in the posthumous publication.

In the original address the latter part, about 1300 words, is devoted to

[1] This article, written by the compiler, was published in the Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. XIII, pp. 160–62.

Whitman. In the revision this part is enlarged to 4000 words and completely altered.

The revision is changed from the original but little in other respects—only in literary refinements of a word or a sentence now and then. The original was published in *The Oregonian* of May 12, 1892, inserted in that paper by the late editor, Harvey W. Scott, who received it from George H. Himes, secretary of the Oregon Pioneer Association, who obtained it from Mr. Fiske. The original, compared with the revised, bears evidences of hasty composition, and the part relating to Whitman shows immature investigation. Mr. Fiske accepted Barrows, Gray and others before looking into the subject for himself.

Mr. Fiske at Astoria repeated the "wagon-on-the-Columbia" story; said Hudson's Bay men discouraged immigration and barred wagon progress; told the tale of Whitman spurred by the Red River emigration, in 1842, to make his "ride" to "save" Oregon in the Webster-Ashburton negotiations; portrayed the Nation as awakened by Whitman to the value of Oregon, and the immigration of 1843 as actuated by him. These several myths have been disbelieved and disproved many years by real admirers of Whitman, who have regretted the false aspects that they gave the life and character of the heroic pioneer and missionary.

Mr. Marshall was a very persistent prober after facts of Oregon history and equally persistent in combating authors of the "legend." In 1895 he wrote Mr. Fiske a letter of eight pages, closely typewritten, exposing details of the "legend." This Mr. Fiske acknowledged with thanks, and asked for more. Mr. Marshall later supplied Mr. Fiske with further information. It seems evident that Mr. Marshall gave Mr. Fiske much of the evidence on which he based the revision of his Astoria address.

The present writer, believing himself a faithful admirer of Whitman's character and work in the acquisition of Oregon, offers the foregoing for the sake of Whitman's place in verified history. The writer feels that the time is here when this subject can be examined free from the controversy that has been waged during many years.

Pioneer Stimulus of Gold in Oregon Country

First of the active forces of pioneer progress on the Pacific Coast, was the quest for gold.[1] This energy was general in area, from California to the Yukon. It drew world-wide interest, and brought a cosmopolitan immigration by land and sea. It started activities not before known. It explored

[1] The gold diggings of the pioneer time were placers, chiefly in the beds of streams. The surface gold was gathered up in a short time in each locality. The workings of quartz gold, by costly machinery, came later and was carried on in special localities; likewise "hydraulic" methods.

every locality of this great region. The ox-team pioneers were a slow-moving people before the gold era drove them from Middle West habits to new industries of various farm production, transportation and trade. The resistant habits were strong in the Willamette Valley of Oregon — a district proverbial for retarded growth.[1]

The primitive life of the Oregon pioneers prior to the gold movement; the isolation, the remoteness from currents of the world and the Nation; the hardships of family existence; the absence of the comforts of the later day; the lack of markets and the narrow range of industry — all this is but faintly realized by the present generation.[2]

The gold movement began the evolution of varied industry, and the later growth of the country.[3]

The value of the gold treasure, extracted from the rocks and earth of the interior region of the Pacific Northwest and Montana, was very large in the then undeveloped condition of this region. In the best years (1861–67), the treasure amounted to $20,000,000 in gold a year, or $140,000,000 for the period. British Columbia yielded $3,000,000 more a year. This combined gold yield was nearly three-fourths that of California in the same period of time.[4]

Before the gold period, which began in 1858–60, the region of which we are reading was the most remote, and had the scantiest white population of any part of the Nation. News from the Eastern centers was four to six weeks old when it reached Portland, Oregon, by way of the California overland stage route, and thence by ocean steamship northward. The mails came to Portland by sea twice a month.[5] The admission of Oregon as a state, February 14, 1859, became known in Oregon a month afterwards.[6] Lincoln had been nominated four weeks before knowledge of the event reached Oregon and Washington.[7] The interior region east of Cascade Mountains was an aboriginal wilderness, except at the Hudson's Bay Com-

[1] Settlement of Willamette Valley began some thirty years prior to the gold period.

[2] Description of pioneer life, by Harvey W. Scott, appears in the *Jewish Tribune*, of Portland, December 19, 1909; *The Oregonian*, June 16, 1881; June 19, 1902. See also pp. 259, 261–64, of this work.

[3] "As if by magic, the tardy wheels of commerce were unfettered, human thought and energy unshackled and turned loose with determined purpose to meet the great emergency and reap the golden harvest" (P. W. Gillette, in the Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. v, p. 125).

[4] For further discussion of this matter, see vol. III, pp. 326–27.

[5] In 1856 there were two steamboat mail routes in Oregon — Portland-Astoria and Portland-Oregon City — a total of 144 miles. There were coach mail routes of 95 miles, and horseback or pack-horse routes of 729 miles (Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. VIII, p. 193, by Thomas W. Prosch).

[6] News of the admission of Oregon was published in *The Oregonian*, at Portland, March 19, 1859.

[7] News of the nomination of Lincoln was published in *The Oregonian*, June 23, 1860. The nomination took place May 18, 1860.

pany's posts, and along the beds of a few streams where "prospectors" had moved the rocks and gravel,[1] near the Old Oregon Trail and the Barlow Road [2] toward the Willamette, and up and down the travel route of the Columbia River between The Dalles [3] and Wallula. Settlers were enjoined from the interior country in 1856, by order of General Wool, commander of the department of the Pacific, U.S.A., who sought thereby to placate the savages.[4]

Frontier settlements existed in the valleys of Willamette, Umpqua, Rogue and Cowlitz rivers, and at Puget Sound. Their population was sparse and the people had simple wants, few goods, arduous toil and the realization that they dwelt on the edge of the world. Forests, on every side, baffled the seekers of the soil, except the strongest and most courageous, who could cut the trees and grub the stumps. Mails were distributed weekly or fortnightly, and the routes were few. Newspapers were few and their contents meager. The Willamette River and the Columbia and Cowlitz rivers served, with steamboats, as almost the only avenues of transportation. Roads were bad and practically impassable in winter. Occasional stage lines were operated in favorable season between the main towns — Portland, Oregon City, Salem, Lafayette, Albany, Winchester (near Roseburg) and Jacksonville, Crescent City, Yreka, and the Klamath and Trinity River mines, and between the head of Cowlitz navigation, near the later town of Toledo, and Olympia.

The first gold discovery, prior even to that in California, appears to have been in the Malheur country, in 1845, on the route of the "Meek cut-off party." The episode of the discovery is known as that of the "blue bucket."[5] The gold was not then recognized, and subsequent efforts to locate the spot were futile. Nearly three years later, the Sacramento Valley, in California, was the scene of the discovery that began the golden career of

[1] Reports of gold by Indians of Kamloops are said to have been made as early as 1852. The real hunt for gold did not begin until 1854–55. Frequent reports of gold in 1855 appear in the files of *The Oregonian* of that year.

[2] The Barlow Road, across Cascade Mountains, was opened in 1845–46.

[3] The Columbia River afforded the earliest route, for pioneers, between Willamette Valley and the interior country. Wagons were floated down stream on rafts, or were hauled along a route which followed the Washington side below Cascades.

[4] This order, dated August 2, 1856, at Benicia, California, headquarters of the department of the Pacific, directed to Colonel George Wright at The Dalles, and signed, "W. W. Mackall, assistant adjutant-general," is contained in *34th Cong.* 3d sess., vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 169. The order read: "No emigrants or other whites, except the Hudson's Bay Company, or persons having ceded rights from the Indians, will be permitted to settle or remain in the Indian country, or on land not ceded by treaty, confirmed by the Senate, and approved by the President of the United States. These orders are not, however, to apply to miners engaged in collecting gold at the Colville mines. The miners will, however, be notified that, should they interfere with the Indians or their squaws, they will be punished and sent out of the country." General Wool thought the Cascade Mountains "a most valuable wall of separation between the two races" (*Life of Isaac I. Stevens*, by Hazard Stevens, vol. II, p. 226).

[5] Yellow pebbles, afterwards believed to be gold, were picked up by members of the pioneer

that commonwealth.[1] Next year, in 1849, a party of Oregonians found gold in Rogue River near Table Rock,[2] but mining did not begin in that valley until two years afterwards.[3] Klamath and Trinity rivers, in Northern California, began yielding in 1849. In the Umpqua country, the fortune-hunting expedition of Heman Winchester, Dr. Henry Payne and others, to the mouth of that river in August, 1850, in the vessel, *Samuel Roberts*, though not successful in finding gold, was a very important move of the gold period. This party joined hands with the Oregon pioneers, Levi Scott, Jesse Applegate and Joseph Sloan, and founded the towns of Umpqua City, Winchester, Elkton, Scottsburg and Gardiner. This exploiting company opened a trail from Scottsburg, near the sea, to Winchester, in the interior valley, in 1851, from which resulted a large trade centering at Scottsburg, and a rapid growth there which promised to produce the metropolis of Oregon. Scottsburg directed the trade of the Rogue and Umpqua regions for a decade.[4] A similar expedition, in 1851, founded Port Orford, under Captain William Tichenor, for trade with the interior gold fields. Exploration of the Coos Bay Company, by miners from Jacksonville, followed in 1853, resulting in large gold discoveries at the mouth of Coquille River and the establishment of the towns of Empire City and Marshfield.

Scattering appearances of gold, in 1853–54, were announced from Burnt River, in Eastern Oregon, and from Yakima, Pend Oreille and Coeur d'Alene rivers, but their significance was not then realized.[5] "Not enough

party of 1845, and were placed in a blue bucket. Not then known to be gold, the nuggets were neglected and lost. The locality was probably that of Malheur or John Day River, in Eastern Oregon. See Compiler's Appendix, vol. III, pp. 336–38, "Where Was Blue Bucket?"

[1] Gold was discovered near Coloma, on the north fork of American River, by James W. Marshall, Oregon immigrant of 1844, and Charles Bennett, also an Oregon immigrant of 1844 (*The Oregonian*, June 13, 1900). News of the discovery reached Portland in August, 1848, by the schooner *Honolulu*, Captain Newell, after he had shrewdly bought all the tools and provisions that the limited pioneer market afforded. Thousands of people left Oregon for the California gold fields. William G. Buffum and wife went overland from Amity, Yamhill County, in July, 1848.

[2] This party was en route to the California gold fields. A narrative of the party and of the Rogue River discovery, by Lee Laughlin, a member of the party, appears in *The Oregonian*, January 21, 1900. Gold was discovered at Jacksonville in December, 1851. The town and the gold activities are described, in 1855, by Thomas J. Dryer, in *The Oregonian*, June 23, 1855.

[3] For details of pioneer gold mining in Southern Oregon, see *The Oregonian*, December 21, 1902, p. 25, by D. H. Stovall; August 24, 1902, p. 21, by Luther Hasbrouck; May 21, 1882, p. 2; May 21, 1885, p. 8; July 31, 1852; December 18, 1852; December 6, 1885, by Cyrus Olney (Gold Beach and Crescent City); February 19, 1853; March 19, April 16, May 7, 14, August 27, September 3, 1853; April 5, 11, 1886; October 28, 1854 (Cow Creek); May 12, 21, 1855; February 4, 1863; December 20, 1856.

[4] Scottsburg was founded in 1850 by Levi Scott, immigrant of 1844. The town of Crescent City, founded in 1853, and the opening of a wagon route between Rogue River and that town in the same year, diverted trade from Scottsburg. Scottsburg, in 1855, is described by Thomas J. Dryer, in *The Oregonian*, June 23, 1855. For narrative of the *Samuel Roberts* expedition, see the Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. XVII, pp. 341–57. Yreka was founded in 1851.

[5] For gold discoveries of Burnt River, see *The Oregonian*, July 15, 1854; July 21, 1855; July 18, September 23, 1861; near Fort Colville and on Pend Oreille River, June 23, 1855, and many issues following; September 1, 1855; November 3, 1855; May 16, July 11, 18, September 26, October 3, 1857; January 30, 1858; Yakima River, April 22, 1854.

[gold] has yet been found to repay the labor of procuring it," wrote Major Benjamin Alvord in 1853.[1] Authorities do not agree upon the first discoveries in the interior country, but it is known that the real awakening came from discoveries near Fort Colville, in the spring of 1855,[2] and on Kootenai River, about the same time. Later in the year the John Day Valley in Oregon was favorably prospected.[3]

Indian hostilities then delayed pursuit of gold in the interior country, but, in 1858, many prospectors were again busy along the waters of Columbia River and on both sides of the Canadian boundary. Reports of gold in Thompson and Fraser rivers, in 1856–57, produced the great "rush" of 1858 to those streams. Gold-seeking thence spread over British Columbia, and a great development of mining took place in that province in 1860–70. The Idaho mines began activities in 1860,[4] those of John Day [5] and Powder River, in Eastern Oregon, in 1861; [6] those of Montana, in 1862.[7] Prospectors steadily pushed northward to Skeena River, and, in later years, to the headwaters of the Yukon.

It may thus be seen that the search for the precious metal on the Pacific Coast was a general and wide movement, continuing many years. It had the same aspects on both sides of the Canadian line, but difficulties and privations increased with the northern latitude. Oregon's part in this movement was not detached, either in time or method. When Willamette Valley farmers went "stampeding" to the mines of Clearwater,[8] Salmon

[1] Letter of Major Alvord appears in *The Oregonian*, April 16, 1853.

[2] See Howay's *British Columbia*, pp. 9–11.

[3] For details of the John Day mines in 1855, see *The Oregonian*, July 21, 1855; narrative of discovery by early fur hunters, and again in 1862, *ibid.*, February 14, 1896, p. 7. These diggings became widely known in 1861–62. Canyon City was a large town. See *The Oregonian*, March 18, June 27, August 7, 21, 27, September 8, November 16, 1862; February 11, 14, 1865.

[4] The Clearwater mines were discovered in 1860; Salmon River mines, in 1861; those of Boise Basin, in 1862, and of Owyhee, in 1863. Reminiscences of the Idaho mines, by Joaquin Miller, appear in *The Oregonian*, November 24, 1890, p. 7; history of the mines, by Preston W. Gillette, June 14, 1899, p. 9; July 17, 1899, p. 6; see also, *ibid.*, September 21, 1887, January 3, 1890.

[5] See note, vol. I, p. 288.

[6] Powder River placers were at their best in 1861–62. The town of Auburn became the largest in the interior country, and was in decline in 1864 (*The Oregonian*, April 20, 1864). The celebrated Auburn ditch, sixteen miles long, was built in 1862–63, by Portland capital, at a cost of $40,000. For details, see *The Oregonian*, November 15, 1861; May 1, June 5, 11, 17, 19, August 6, 8, 14, September 17, 29, October 1, 4, 10, November 21, 27, December 15, 1862; January 28, February 23, April 9, May 5, 14, June 8, October 7, 1863; April 4, 20, July 16, October 29, 1864; see history of Auburn diggings, Portland *Bulletin*, February 5, 1873, p. 1. Gold was discovered near Baker in 1861 (*The Oregonian*, January 27, 1883). Granite Creek was busy in 1863 (*The Oregonian*, June 10, July 23, 1863). Eagle Creek had placers and quartz ledges (*ibid.*, February 15, 1865). Quartz gold began to be mined near Auburn in 1864 (*ibid.*, October 29, 1864).

[7] Grasshopper Creek diggings were discovered in 1862; Deer Lodge, in 1862; Alder Gulch, in 1863; Last Chance Gulch, in 1864.

[8] For details of the Clearwater mines, see *The Oregonian* of 1861: May 6, 11, 14, 20, 27, 29, 30; June 1, 4, 5, 7, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 26, 27; July 1, 7, 11, 17, 18, 23, 24, 30; August 20,

River,[1] Boise,[2] Owyhee and John Day, thousands of others were going thither also, from many parts of the world, and to Eastern Washington, Montana and British Columbia. The pioneers of Willamette Valley and Cowlitz and Puget Sound hardly stopped to think of the immensity of the gold movement. And it may be added that it included, also, Nevada and Colorado. In topography, industry, transportation, politics, the results were far-reaching.

Prospectors explored every river, mountain, lake and plain. They toiled along all the streams and over the intervening ridges. They learned the contours, the possible routes of trade, the lands available for tillage. They were the advance agents of the succeeding farmers, merchants and transportation men, the geodetic surveyors of their time. The remote sources of the Rogue, Umpqua, Willamette, Columbia and Fraser rivers were their objectives. Their needs and those of the miners located trade centers and routes of traffic, and caused the growth of cities.

Jacksonville, Scottsburg, Crescent City, Yreka, became the leading supply points in Southern Oregon and Northern California. Portland soon leaped into preëminence, as the metropolis of the region, and held the chief rank forty years, until commerce routes of Alaska and the Orient transferred the primacy to Puget Sound. The population of Portland more than doubled from 1280 in 1857, to 2917 in 1860. It grew to 6000 in 1865, to 9565 in 1870, and to 17,578 in 1880.[3] Victoria grew, beginning in 1858, from a sleepy trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company, to be a thriving town with a large inland trade. Its population in 1857 was a few hundred, and in 1863, 6000.[4] New Westminster, founded in 1859, became a leading city on the mainland, and once the capital of the province. The towns of Hope, Yale and Lytton were active in the trade of the Fraser River region.

The trade of the gold fields founded the cities of Jacksonville, Scottsburg, Roseburg, Lewiston,[5] Boise[6] and Helena,[7] and many hamlets whose

26; September 3, 4, 7, 9, 11; 1862: February 6, April 28, June 17, July 1, 11, August 6; June 23, 1863; January 22, 1863; April 30, 1863; April 12, 1893.

[1] For details of the Salmon River diggings, see *The Oregonian*, October 18, 21, 25; November 5, 14, 18; December 10, 13, 17, 19, 20, 31, 1861; February 6, 20; March 31; April 2, 18, 25; May 8; June 14, 17, 27; July 8, 24, 25, 26; August 4, 18; September 3, 10, 1862; January 31, 1863. For description of the routes to Salmon River mines, see *The Oregonian*, December 20, 1861; May 8, 1862.

[2] Discoveries of gold in Boise Basin in 1862 caused a "rush" there in 1863–64. For details, see *The Oregonian*, November 4, 8, 11, 13, 17, 18, 25, 26, 1862; May 14, 1863; September 19, 1863; August 10, 1864.

[3] See Harvey W. Scott's *History of Portland*, pp. 143, 151, 158.

[4] See Howay's *British Columbia*, p. 153.

[5] Lewiston was founded in 1861. For details of the growth of the town, see *The Oregonian*, June 4, 1861; June 23, 27, 1862; May 12, 1889; January 1, 1900; Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. XVI, pp. 188–89.

[6] Boise was founded in 1863.

[7] Helena was founded in 1864.

names are suggestive of the mining era. The Dalles[1] and Walla Walla[2] became live centers for supplies and outfits. From those towns parties went to Fraser River in 1858,[3] one led by Joel Palmer, who took the first wagons there, from The Dalles, by way of Okanogan River and Kamloops;[4] the other, led by Archibald McKinlay and David McLoughlin, from Walla Walla. The latter town controlled a large share of the trade of the Clearwater and Salmon River mines, beginning in 1860. Umatilla Landing, where the "freighting" road to and from the Boise and Owyhee mines joined the Columbia River, became a large town.[5] Helena, which was founded in 1864, had trade connections with both the Missouri and the Columbia rivers.

The earlier gold activities, that began in California in 1848, likewise had stimulated affairs of the North Pacific Coast. The Willamette Valley and Puget Sound then found the markets opening for farm products and lumber. Money became abundant and prices soared. The coins were stamped by private firms in California, or by the Oregon Exchange Company, of Oregon City, which coined "beaver money" in 1849. A local commerce sprang up. Prosperity then visited the Old Oregon Country for the first time. There was then a market for the products that never before had had an outlet. But the second prosperity, coming with the local gold movement in 1860, far exceeded that of ten years before.

Fertile areas in the interior grew in usefulness and productivity, with mining development. The valley of the Walla Walla was one of the earliest localities in this work, beginning in 1858–59. Grande Ronde River valley in Oregon, a very productive district, was first settled probably in 1861.[6] Powder River also became a farming district. Payette and Boise River valleys, in Idaho, the Bitter Root and Gallatin valleys, in Montana, contributed farm products and live stock to the growth of the country. Such products could not be supplied locally to meet the demand, and commanded

[1] The Dalles grew from a Methodist mission, established in 1838. The Government established a military post there in 1850. For description of the town in 1862, see *The Oregonian*, June 11, September 11, 1862; description in 1848, *ibid.*, April 14, 1868. The town was a boat landing for Oregon Trail pioneers, en route to Willamette Valley. It was incorporated January 26, 1857 (Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. XVI, p. 26). See vol. II, p. 306, of this work.

[2] For description of early Walla Walla, see *The Oregonian*, August 10, November 18, 1861; March 21, June 18, 1862.

[3] The mines of Fraser and Thompson rivers and the routes to them are described in *The Oregonian*, April 10, 24, May 1, 15, June 12, 26, July 3, 17, 24, 31, 1858.

[4] Joel Palmer describes the route to Similkameen and Rock Creek in the Salem *Statesman*, February 14, 1860; also in *The Oregonian*, February 4, 1860. From Old Fort Okanogan the route was that of the fur-trading days of the North West Company (Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. XV, pp. 1–36, by William C. Brown).

[5] The town of Umatilla was laid out in 1863 (*The Oregonian*, May 16, 1863) as a landing place for steamboats to connect with the road to Boise and Owyhee. For description of the town, see *The Oregonian*, June 23, 24, 1863; February 9, June 24, 1864; March 23, 1865.

[6] The town of La Grande began to grow in 1862 and had rapid progress in 1863 (*The Oregonian*, November 27, 1862; December 25, 1863).

high prices, so that, for many persons, farming was more profitable than mining. Woolen manufacture started at Salem in 1855,[1] at Oregon City, in 1864,[2] and at Brownsville, in 1866.[3] Agriculture became a growing utility in British Columbia.[4] The live stock industry grew ahead of farming in the interior country. Large shipments by sea went from Columbia River to Victoria and Fraser River. Cattle and horses were taken up the Columbia River to Idaho and British Columbia, or driven across the Cascade Mountains.[5] Ocean ships, bearing cargoes for the needs of the fast-growing population, took return cargoes of lumber, wool, hides, potatoes and grain. Beginnings of iron smelting were made at Oswego, near Portland, in 1866.[6]

The need of supplies for prospectors and miners, far inland from centers of production and transit, produced large means of transportation. The great avenue — the most practicable one — was the Columbia River. A heavy traffic gravitated to this river, and was monopolized by one transportation company.[7] Long lines of transport, by river steamboats, freight wagons and pack animals, led to the interior country from Columbia River, Fraser River, Missouri River, via Fort Benton, Sacramento River and the Old Oregon Trail. Fast and beautiful steamboats plied the waters of Columbia and Fraser rivers. More business offered in the rush seasons of 1861–63 than the boats of Columbia River could carry.[8] This traffic formed the basis of the original stockholders of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, which continues to the present time, and has greatly multiplied in recent years. Some of the most substantial fortunes were then founded, including those of Robert R. Thompson, John C. Ainsworth (Sr.), William S. Ladd, Jacob Kamm and Simeon G. Reed.

In the years 1861–64, the Oregon Steam Navigation Company transported to the upper country 60,320 tons, of which nearly 22,000 tons belonged to the year 1864. In this period the number of passengers up and

[1] The Willamette Woolen Manufacturing Company was promoted by Joseph Watt. See *Transactions* of Oregon Pioneer Association for 1875, p. 38; *The Oregonian*, May 6, 1876, p. 3.

[2] The Oregon City Woolen Manufacturing Company. See *The Oregonian*, August 9, 1873, p. 3; November 25, 1872, p. 3; November 11, 1865, p. 2.

[3] See Himes and Lang's *History of the Willamette Valley*, pp. 579–80; *The Oregonian*, May 19, 1875, p. 2; June 28, 1875, p. 1.

[4] For growth of agriculture in British Columbia, see Howay's *British Columbia*, pp. 590–603.

[5] See Trimble's *Mining Advance*, pp. 107–08.

[6] The Oregon Iron Company. The plant continued work spasmodically until 1885. The town, Oswego, was platted in 1867. See *The Oregonian*, February 28, 1865; August 22, 1866; August 27, 1867.

[7] The Oregon Steam Navigation Company. For history of this company, see the Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. v, pp. 120–32, by P. W. Gillette; vol. ix, pp. 274–94, by Irene Lincoln Poppleton. See also vol. iii, pp. 193–95.

[8] For description of Columbia River transportation in 1861, see *The Oregonian*, May 27, 29, 30, June 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 1861. The press of business is narrated by P. W. Gillette in the Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. v, pp. 125–28: "At Portland the rush of freight to the docks was so great that drays and trucks had to form and stand in line to get their turn in delivering their goods" (*ibid.*, p. 128). See also *ibid.*, vol. ix, pp. 274–79, by Irene Lincoln Poppleton.

down river was nearly 100,000; 36,000 in 1864.[1] Careful estimate places the number of persons in the mining camps of Oregon, Washington and Idaho, in 1862, at 30,000.[2] This number greatly increased in the next three years, and especially in Montana. The boats for Portland, up river, in 1862, often carried more than 200 passengers each. In April and May, 1862, the total revenue at The Dalles from passenger trips on three steamboats, then plying the upper river, was more than $50,000. One steamer took in more than $18,000 for freight and passengers, in one trip.[3]

The first steamboat on the Willamette and Lower Columbia rivers, the *Columbia*, had appeared in 1850;[4] on the middle river (Cascades-Celilo), the *James P. Flint*, in 1851;[5] on the upper river (above Celilo), the *Colonel Wright*, in 1858, which next year opened navigation to Priest Rapids and above Lewiston.[6] On Fraser River, steamboats began running in 1858, and the *Governor Douglas* was built at Victoria that year for business on that river. Many new steamboats were built on Columbia and Fraser rivers after 1860. To facilitate traffic, portage railroads were opened at Cascades and Celilo in 1863.[7] The Oregon Steam Navigation Company built steamboats on the upper reaches of Snake and Columbia rivers. At Old Fort Boise, in 1866, it built the *Shoshone*, to operate on Snake River down to Olds Ferry. In the same year it launched, on Lake Pend Oreille, the *Mary Moody*. The year before it launched the *Forty-Nine*, to navigate the Columbia River across the Canadian boundary up to Death Rapids. Steamboats on Missouri River offered competition to the Columbia River route, in Montana, by steaming up to Fort Benton in 1859 and afterwards, and there connecting with the Mullan Road, built in 1859–62.[8] But the

[1] See the Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. IX, p. 290; vol. XVI, p. 167.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 156. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] The first steamboat was the *Columbia*, built at Astoria, in the summer of 1850. The second was the *Lot Whitcomb*, launched at Milwaukie December 25, 1850.

[5] The *Flint* was built by the Bradfords and J. O. Van Bergen (Wright's *Marine History of the Pacific Northwest*, p. 34), and was taken to the lower river in 1852. The next steamboat on the middle river was the *Allan*, in 1853–56, owned by Allan, McKinlay and Company, old Hudson's Bay men (*ibid.*, p. 38). The third was the *Mary*, built in 1854 by the Bradfords and Lawrence W. Coe. The fourth was the *Hassalo*, built by the Bradfords (*ibid.*, p. 65).

[6] The *Colonel Wright* was built by Robert R. Thompson and Lawrence W. Coe, at the mouth of Deschutes River.

[7] F. A. Chenoweth built a portage tram road at Cascades (north side) in 1850 (P. W. Gillette, in Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. V, p. 121). The Bradford brothers (D. F. and P. F.) rebuilt the road in 1856. In the latter year W. R. Kilborn built a rival portage on the south bank, which was rebuilt and improved by J. S. Ruckle and H. Olmsted in May, 1861. The Oregon Steam Navigation Company absorbed the rival portages in 1862, and built a new portage on the north side in 1862–63 (opened April 20, 1863), six miles long. The Celilo portage was a wagon road, until the Oregon Steam Navigation Company finished a portage railroad, thirteen miles long, April 23, 1863. For description of the Celilo portage wagon road in 1861, see *The Oregonian*, May 30, June 5, 1861.

[8] The distance between Fort Benton and Walla Walla was 624 miles, via Mullan Pass, Little Blackfoot River, Hellgate River, Bitter Root River, Sohon Pass and Coeur d'Alene River. The road was intended to provide a shorter route, from Fort Laramie into Idaho and Oregon. It was not successful. For description and history, see *The Oregonian*, September 18, 1862; August

Missouri route was not dependable, because the steamboats could not every year ascend to Fort Benton.

The main freight routes on land were the following:

From Umatilla and Wallula, on Columbia River, across Blue Mountains, along Old Oregon Trail to Boise Basin, Owyhee, and Salt Lake City.[1]

From The Dalles, on Columbia River, to John Day, Powder River, Burnt River and Malheur River, and Owyhee.[2]

From Priest Rapids or White Bluffs, Wallula or Walla Walla, to Okanogan, Fort Colville and Kootenai; also from Lewiston.[3]

From Fort Benton, on Missouri River, to Helena and Virginia City and Salt Lake.[4]

From Red Bluff and Chico, in California, to Owyhee;[5] also from Sacramento via American River and Humboldt River.

From Yale, on Fraser River, to Barkerville in the Cariboo; from Hope to Similkameen; from Douglas to Lilloet and Cariboo.[6]

Jacksonville, in Rogue River Valley, had routes to Crescent City, Yreka, Sacramento, Winchester (near Roseburg) and Scottsburg. Joel Palmer was a persistent promoter of the route from Priest Rapids to the diggings of Okanogan, Similkameen, Rock Creek and Upper Columbia rivers. Similkameen and Rock Creek became famous in 1859 and a big rush took place thither in 1860.[7] Joel Palmer built a road from Priest Rapids in 1860, and raised a public fund therefor, much of it at Portland. A stage line began the route in 1860. The steamer *Colonel Wright* ascended to Priest Rapids in 1859, and a town of promise was laid out there,[8] but the promise was not

28, 1862; April 20, 1880, p. 5. The practicability of the route is discussed by Mullan, Robert Newell and Joseph L. Meek, *ibid.*, April 30, May 1, 7, 8, 21, July 22, 1861.

[1] A new road was finished between La Grande and Walla Walla in 1863 (*The Oregonian*, July 31, 1863). Details of the route from Umatilla, *ibid.*, May 9, 16, 22, 1866; August 11, 1896, p. 3; from Walla Walla, *ibid.*, June 24, 1864. A narrative of the pioneer express between Walla Walla, Lewiston and Boise appears, *ibid.*, August 12, 1906, p. 38; November 22, 30, 1865; August 20, 1883, p. 5. Details of these routes are narrated in Hailey's *History of Idaho*, pp. 95–99, 123–26. The Central Pacific Railroad diverted traffic from Columbia River, beginning in 1869, to Kelton and Winnemucca.

[2] This route is described in *The Oregonian*, February 6, 1863; March 26, 1864; October 17, 1866, p. 2; March 22, 1869, p. 3; February 9, 1865.

[3] See note, p. 336, preceding, for Joel Palmer's description of the Okanogan-Similkameen route. The routes to Kootenai, from White Bluffs and Lewiston, are described in *The Oregonian*, March 11, 1865.

[4] Steamboat transportation on Missouri River to Fort Benton continued until the opening of the Northern Pacific Railroad, in 1882–83. See Bancroft's *Montana*, pp. 413, 752–53. See also note, p. 338, preceding.

[5] The stage route from Red Bluff is described in *The Oregonian*, February 9, 1865; the Chico route, September 14, 1865, p. 2. John Mullan started a stage line from Red Bluff to Silver City in 1865. See Hailey's *History of Idaho*, p. 123; *The Oregonian*, February 9, 1865.

[6] These routes are well described in Howay's *British Columbia*.

[7] Details of these diggings, by Rufus W. Henry, appear in *The Oregonian*, May 17, 1861. See also *ibid.*, June 29, 1861; February 4, 1860; November 26, 1859, *et seq.*, January 14, February 18, 25, June 23, 30, 1860.

[8] See *The Oregonian*, July 10, 1863.

fulfilled. Joel Palmer, A. P. Ankeny and others opened a trail for pack trains and cattle through the gorge of the Columbia River on the Oregon side in 1863, as a route to the mines.[1] This was the beginning of the later Columbia River Highway.[2] The route included ferries at Sandy and Hood rivers. The Mullan Road, between Fort Benton and Walla Walla, led prospectors and miners into Bitter Root Valley from both directions.

The growing business of the mining districts opened the way for a daily stage line, between Sacramento and Portland, in September, 1860.[3] This utility was of high value to the whole North Pacific Coast. Telegraph connections, between Portland, Sacramento and the Eastern states, followed in March, 1864.[4] This line was extended to Puget Sound, Victoria and New Westminster,[5] and up Columbia River.[6] It was building toward Alaska and Siberia, for Asiatic and European service, when stopped, in 1866, by the invention of the Atlantic cable.[7] Lines were extended from Salt Lake into Idaho and Montana. The growth of the transportation business, up and down the coast, prepared for the Oregon-California railroad project of Ben Holladay, who began construction in Willamette Valley in 1868. This was the first railroad of the North Pacific Coast, except for the portage railroads at Cascades and Celilo. And it may be added that the railroad progress in the West followed closely the gold activities, notably the lines of the Union Pacific and the Northern Pacific.

The horse stage was used on many local routes that connected with the main roads. Ben Holladay was a leading figure in the business between Salt Lake, Walla Walla, Virginia City and Helena. An overland stage, with United States mail, controlled by Ben Holladay, began running from Salt Lake to Fort Hall, Boise and Walla Walla in the summer of 1864. The first mail reached Walla Walla by this route August 8, 1864.[8] Three years later, in 1867, the general progress, due to mining, caused the Government to ex-

[1] John F. Miller made the surveys in 1862 (*The Oregonian*, November 10, 1862). The road was opened to cattle and pack trains early in 1863 (*ibid.*, March 21, 1863). The cost was $15,000 (*ibid.*, December 9, 1864).

[2] Opened in the summer of 1915.

[3] The California Stage Company's schedule, between Sacramento and Portland, was seven days in summer and twelve days in winter. For history of the route, see *The Oregonian*, November 1, 1865, p. 1; details of the route, *ibid.*, January 22, 1868, p. 3; April 8, 1863, p. 3; July 30, 1869, p. 3; December 25, 1887, p. 5.

[4] The first transcontinental through message reached San Francisco September 24, 1862. Yreka was the terminus of a local line from Sacramento in 1858. The daily stage to Portland afterwards carried messages from Yreka. The line between Portland and Yreka was built in 1863–64.

[5] Communication between Portland and Olympia began September 4, 1864, and between Portland and Seattle, October 26, 1864. It was opened to New Westminster April 18, 1865.

[6] This line was finished to Cascades May 13, 1868; to The Dalles, early in June, 1868, and to Boise, in 1869.

[7] The line reached the confluence of Skeena and Kispyox rivers. See Howay's *British Columbia*, pp. 195–201.

[8] See *The Oregonian*, June 24, 1864.

tend the mail service to Portland directly from Salt Lake and Walla Walla, instead of by way of Sacramento, thereby shortening the service some six days. In the same year the Government began mail service between Wallula and Helena, using pack horses between the Columbia River (frequently at White Bluffs) and Lake Pend Oreille, and steamboats on Lake Pend Oreille and Clark Fork. This route began to be used by Portland merchants in 1865, to reach the Montana mines ahead of the uncertain steamboat transportation up Missouri River to Fort Benton from Saint Louis. The trip from Portland to Helena then consumed seven days.[1]

California competed keenly for the trade of Owyhee and Boise. A triweekly mail service was established between Chico, California, and Ruby City, in Owyhee, in 1866. John Mullan and others established a stage line in 1865 between Red Bluff, California, and Silver City, Idaho. These several connections with Boise and Owyhee were supplanted in 1868–69 by the Central Pacific Railroad. Sharp rivalry existed between the California and the Columbia River stage lines in 1865–66. The Columbia River route used steamboats to Umatilla Landing, stages and freight wagons thence across Blue Mountains to Olds Ferry (near Huntington) on Snake River; thence a steamboat of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, which was finished in May, 1866 (the *Shoshone*), up Snake River. This steamboat lost money heavily; wood for fuel was scarce, and it could not steam past Bruneau River. Besides, the stage route between Olds Ferry and Boise was easier and quicker than the round-about steamboat travel.[2]

These large activities necessarily had effects on the political life of the great region. Each mining community resorted to civil organization, sometimes with the aid of the vigilance committee. The territory of Idaho was created in 1863; that of Montana, in 1864. New counties were organized frequently in Oregon, Idaho, Washington and Montana. Roads and bridges were built; public schools established. The whites forever supplanted the Indians. The San Juan boundary dispute with Great Britain was precipitated in 1859, as a result of the rush of American population to the gold diggings and to Puget Sound, and was decided in 1872, in favor of the United States, by the emperor of Germany.

In British Columbia the mining era was very important for the British. The resultant growth finally established British power on the Pacific. Formerly it was but a fur-bearing domain of the feudalistic Hudson's Bay

[1] For details of the route, see *The Oregonian*, November 17, 1865, p. 2; May 7, 1867, p. 3; June 8, 1867, p. 2; May 11, 1867, p. 3.

[2] "It cost more to unload and reload and haul over this thirty-three miles (Snake River to Boise), than it did to haul straight through the ninety miles from Olds Ferry to Boise" (Hailey's *History of Idaho*, p. 124).

Company. In the midst of the "gold rush," in 1858, the reign of that company was supplanted by a provisional government, and the seat of government was established at Fort Langley, the formality of which took place November 19, 1858.

In the seven years (1861–67), the areas of Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana produced probably a total of $140,000,000. Those of British Columbia yielded probably $21,000,000 more. The gold yield of California in that period, by the same comparison, was $210,000,000.[1] So that it is evident that the great gold crop of California, though larger than that of the northern mines, was not so much larger as common opinion may judge. The best figures on this subject are but estimates, yet by competent authority the figures here given are considered reliable. The totals are segregated as follows, for the whole producing period ending with 1867:

Washington	$10,000,000
Oregon	20,000,000
Idaho	45,000,000
Montana	65,000,000
Total	$140,000,000

These statistics were compiled by J. Ross Browne, who, as United States commissioner for the mining region west of Rocky Mountains, made a comprehensive report in 1867.[2]

The first mines were always placers. The miners were preceded by prospectors, some of whom made fortunes by becoming miners; but the great majority gathered little or nothing, frequently not even a bare living. Their implements were the pan, the rocker and the sluice, each for eliminating matter from the gold particles by washing.[3]

The reduction of gold quartz required costly machinery. Such gold deposits baffled the early prospectors and miners. Gold quartz was found in Oregon at Rogue River, Canyon City, Elk Creek, Vincent's, Olive Creek, Granite Creek, Eagle Creek and Auburn; in Idaho, on Salmon, Boise and Owyhee rivers; and in Canada, along the headwaters of Columbia River and at Cariboo. Silver lodes were frequent along with those of gold. Reduction mills were carried into the districts of Owyhee, Boise and Powder River, beginning in 1864, at great cost, from both San Francisco and Portland.[4]

[1] These statistics are taken from Trimble's *Mining Advance*, pp. 102, 118. See *The Oregonian*, June 6, 1866, p. 3; January 15, 1868, p. 3. E. M. Barnum, in *The Oregonian*, March 21, 1867, estimates the yield of Oregon, Washington and Idaho, in 1858–66, at $57,000,000, which is probably too conservative. See also Government *Report* of J. Ross Browne.

[2] See Trimble's *Mining Advance*, p. 102; *Report* of J. Ross Browne.

[3] These implements are described in Bancroft's *California*, vol. VI, pp. 409–18.

[4] Four quartz mills were shipped to Owyhee from Portland in 1864, one by J. C. Ainsworth and another by Minear, Fountain, Leffel and Carrico. See *The Oregonian*, February 21, March

Many localities gave "prospects" of gold, in the decade 1850, but did not become productive. There was little gold in Western Oregon, save in the Rogue River and Umpqua country. "Colors" or small quantities were found in the valleys of the Molalla, Santiam and McKenzie rivers,[1] and in Bohemia, the latter at the sources of the Willamette River. Coffee Creek, tributary to the South Umpqua, attracted gold seekers in 1858.[2] Steamboat Creek, of the North Umpqua, was a flitting Eldorado of this period. Coquille River, at its mouth, offered rich diggings in 1853. Sailor Diggings, at the present town of Waldo, at the headwaters of Illinois River, tributary of Rogue River, was the scene of profitable placers, beginning in 1852. Settlement of Southern Oregon began in 1847–48, contemporaneously with the gold movement of California. Molalla[3] and Santiam drew gold seekers in 1860.[4] Bohemia was discovered in 1863.[5] These localities afforded poor pay, because the gold was chiefly of low-grade quartz, and they did not continue long in favor, although successive attempts were made to revive them.[6]

Western Washington was even poorer in gold than Western Oregon. Queen Charlotte Islands afforded discoveries in 1850, and several expeditions of gold hunters went there in the following two years.[7] In Eastern

23, June 2, 6, 27, July 9, July 16, August 6, 19, 20, September 10, 12, November 10, 11, 18, December 6, 14, 1864; January 6, 11, 25, February 10, 1865. Many Oregon men engaged or were interested in Owyhee ventures. See also *The Oregonian*, June 6, 1865, p. 2; July 28, 1865, p. 2. A mill of thirty stamps, for the Boise district, went through Portland from New York, in December, 1864 (*ibid.*, December 24, 1864). Another mill, from San Francisco for Boise, was shipped through Portland in the summer of 1864 (*ibid.*, July 12, 13, 1864). Details of the quartz mines of South Boise, *ibid.*, July 13, 23, September 11, 21, October 3, 1864; January 1, 28, March 9, 12, 30, June 10, 19, 23, July 8, 9, 18, 1863; January 18, April 20, May 5, 18, 26, August 19, 20, December 28, 1864. A quartz mill was built near Auburn in 1864 (*ibid.*, October 29, 1864).

[1] The Blue River deposits were discovered in 1863. Large stamp mills were installed, but the ore was low grade. See *The Oregonian*, December 8, 1863; November 2, December 17, 1889; July 3, 1897.

[2] Cow Creek was prospected in 1854, with poor returns (*The Oregonian*, October 28, 1854, letter signed "F. D."). Coffee Creek, of South Umpqua, yielded returns in 1858 (*ibid.*, December 18, 1858).

[3] Silver and gold quartz of Molalla River was discovered in 1860, forty-five miles from Oregon City. See *The Oregonian*, September 15, 1860; August 16, 1865, p. 2.

[4] The Santiam deposits, sixty miles east of Salem, contained gold and silver quartz. Assays ran as high as $2500 a ton. Many claims were taken there in 1860. Loose gold was discovered in 1864. The town of Quartzville was laid off in 1864. A stamp mill was erected in that year. The route to these mines is described in *The Oregonian*, July 9, 1864. For details of this district, *ibid.*, June 9, 16, 30; September 1, 8, 1860; October 14, 22, 1863; June 30, November 12, 1864; October 29, 1869, p. 3; May 10, 1887; July 3, 1897; October 2, 1889.

[5] The Bohemia quartz was discovered in 1863 by "Bohemia" Johnson (*The Oregonian*, January 20, 1900, p. 5). A road was opened to the mines in 1871. See *History* of Douglas County, by A. G. Walling, p. 392. A quartz mill was operated in 1873–77 by A. J. Knott. See also *The Oregonian*, March 26, 1872, p. 3; July 2, 1899, p. 16; March 17, 1900, p. 5; April 26, 1900, p. 5; July 30, 1900; January 1, 1901; June 28, 1896, p. 18; July 3, 1897.

[6] For narrative of the mines of Clackamas, Marion and Linn counties, see *The Oregonian*, June 22, 1889. The quartz, of gold and silver, was too low grade for successful operation.

[7] The British sent the ship *Una* to Queen Charlotte Islands from Fort Simpson in 1851, and the brig *Recovery* to Gold Harbor, in 1852. The American vessel *Georgiana* explored for gold in 1851. Eight American vessels sailed to Mitchell Harbor in 1852. These expeditions had little or no success.

Washington, the Yakima[1] Valley was favorably prospected in 1854. That district and Wenatchee[2] were encouraged by Puget Sound merchants. In Eastern Oregon, Burnt River[3] and Malheur River[4] yielded surface gold.[5] The rich diggings were in none of these places, however. The most famous localities may be listed as follows, with the years of their discovery:

Rogue River, Table Rock, 1849; Jacksonville, 1851; Gold Beach, 1853;[6] Colville, 1855; Pend Oreille River;[7] Thompson River, 1856–57;[8] Fraser River, 1856–57;[9] Similkameen River, 1859;[10] Rock Creek (British Columbia), 1859;[11] Cariboo, 1860;[12] Clearwater River, 1860; Oro Fino Creek, Rhodes Creek, Elk City district, French Creek, Canal Gulch;[13] John Day River, 1861;[14] Gold Creek (Montana), 1861;[15] Powder River, 1861;[16] Salmon River (Idaho), 1861; Warren's Diggings, Florence;[17] Boise Basin, 1862;[18] Grasshopper Creek (Montana), 1862; Bannack;[19] Owyhee River, 1863; Jordan Creek;[20] Kootenai River, 1863;[21] Finley's Creek; Wild Horse Creek; Deer Lodge River (Montana), 1862;[22] Alder Gulch (Montana), 1863;[23] Last Chance Gulch (Montana), 1864; Oro Fino; Grizzly;[24] Upper Columbia River (British Columbia), 1865.[25]

Heavy shipments of gold were made to and from Portland. This gold came mostly from the Clearwater and the Salmon River mines. The ocean steamer *Pacific*, sailing for San Francisco October 11, 1861, took $172,904 in gold. This steamer sailed again December 12, 1861, with $141,820 of gold. *The Oregonian*, on January 18, 1862, estimated the influx of gold dust into

[1] Yakima Valley attracted prospectors in 1854 (*The Oregonian*, April 22, 1854), and gained large publicity in 1858 (*ibid.*, July 23, 1858; August 5, 1861). For description in 1873, *ibid.*, December 3, 1873, p. 3.

[2] The Wenatchee diggings were active in 1858 (*The Oregonian*, July 23, 1858). They attracted many fortune hunters in 1861.

[3] See note, p. 333, preceding.

[4] Malheur River was the supposed place of the "lost diggings of 1845," and the diggings were discovered again in 1861. See *The Oregonian*, August 26, 1861; September 17, 1861. For details of silver discoveries, *ibid.*, June 24, 1864.

[5] A history of gold mining in Eastern Oregon appears in *The Oregonian*, September 14, 1865, p. 2.

[6] See note, p. 333, preceding.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 333, preceding.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 334, preceding.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 336, preceding.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 339, preceding.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 339, preceding.

[12] See Howay's *British Columbia*, pp. 73–84; also, *The Oregonian*, January 13, February 18, 1863; Trimble's *Mining Advance*, pp. 46–56; Bancroft's *British Columbia*, pp. 472–519.

[13] See notes, pp. 334, 335, preceding.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 334, preceding.

[15] See Bancroft's *Montana*, p. 616; Trimble's *Mining Advance*, p. 79.

[16] See note, p. 334, preceding.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 335, preceding.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 335, preceding.

[19] See Trimble's *Mining Advance*, p. 80.

[20] See note, p. 342, preceding.

[21] For details of the Kootenai mines, see *The Oregonian*, December 15, 1863; May 14, 1864; February 7, 1865; June 17, 1864; May 27, 1864; October 13, 1864; Trimble's *Mining Advance*, pp. 56–59.

[22] For details of the Deer Lodge diggings, see *The Oregonian*, August 14, 1862; Trimble's *Mining Advance*, pp. 79–80.

[23] See Bancroft's *Montana*, pp. 629–30.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 721; Trimble's *Mining Advance*, p. 82.

[25] See Trimble's *Mining Advance*, pp. 56–60.

Portland in 1861 at $3,000,000. The riversteamer *Julia* arrived at Portland April 28, 1862, with $100,000 in gold dust. The *Carrie Ladd*, on May 20, 1862, arrived with $175,000; again on June 25, 1862, this steamer brought $200,000 to Portland. The ocean steamer *Tenino* sailed August 5, 1862, with $200,000. The ocean steamer *Sierra Nevada* carried from Portland to San Francisco $500,000, sailing October 27, 1862. The *Pacific* sailed with $250,000 on November 26, 1862. Later treasure ships may be noted as follows: *Sierra Nevada*, August 24, 1863, $195,000; *Brother Jonathan*, September 25, 1863, $315,000; *Sierra Nevada*, October 5, 1863, $236,751; *Brother Jonathan*, October 12, 1863, $203,835; *Sierra Nevada*, November 13, 1863, $500,000; *Oregon*, December 4, 1863, $750,000; *Oregon*, June 2, 1864, $330,000; *John L. Stephens*, June 27, 1864, $515,649; *Pacific*, July 5, 1864, $213,899; *Oregon*, August 3, 1864, $321,000; *Pacific*, August 21, 1864, $366,465; *Sierra Nevada*, December 2, 1864, $517,250; *Brother Jonathan*, October 28, 1864, $500,000; November 15, 1864, $339,000.

The total assays of gold at Portland in September, October and November, 1864, aggregated $1,376,678.82, according to Thomas Frazar, United States collector of internal revenue for Oregon. In the year 1863, the total was $4,505,731.[1] The gold production of the entire Pacific Northwest was estimated in 1861 at $1,750,000; $9,000,000, in 1862.[2]

Shipments of bullion, from Portland, by Wells, Fargo express were as follows: 1864, $6,200,000; 1865, $5,800,000; 1866, $5,400,000; 1867, $4,001,000.[3]

This survey of the pioneer gold mining period and of the effects on the early development of the North Pacific region, could be extended to much greater length. The "loose gold" was gathered up in a few years, just as in every placer country. But the opening of the wilderness and the impulse given to the growth of this region by the new energies of a large new population — these are the matters highly important in studying the history of pioneer progress.

Portland Public Library

The first Portland library association organized in 1850 and continued until about 1856. H. D. O'Bryant, carpenter, fitted up the room at the northwest corner of Front and Alder streets. The Library Association of Portland was organized in the year 1864. The first directors were: William S. Ladd, Bernard Goldsmith, L. H. Wakefield, H. W. Corbett, E. D. Shattuck, C. H. Lewis, William Strong, W. S. Caldwell, P. C. Schuyler, Jr., Charles Calef. The first officers, elected March 14, 1864, were: William S.

[1] See *The Oregonian*, March 10, 1864. [2] *Ibid.*, December 15, 1862.
[3] See the Oregon historical *Quarterly*, vol. IX, p. 290.

Ladd, president; William Strong, vice president; Bernard Goldsmith, treasurer. Original donation of funds for the library amounted to $2611.50 (*ibid.*, May 31, 1864); history and benefactors of the library, *ibid.*, March 16, 1902; April 10, 1887; description of the private library of John Wilson, which he gave to the public collection, *ibid.*, March 20, 27, 1898. The library building at Broadway and Stark streets, southwest corner, was built from donation of local funds, in 1890–92, and was razed in 1913. For description of the building, see *The Oregonian*, July 2, 1893, p. 10; July 1, 1895, p. 26. Matthew P. Deady was the leading organizer of the enterprise. Among the contributions were: Henry Failing, $10,000; E. S. Kearney, $5000; W. K. Smith, $5000; M. W. Fechheimer, $3000; Stephen Skidmore, $2000 (*ibid.*, June 1, 1888). The Central Library, at Tenth, Yamhill, Eleventh and Taylor streets, was built by the county and finished in 1913.

Portland City Hall

The City Hall, between Fourth and Fifth streets, Madison and Jefferson, was occupied in 1892, and the upper floor was finished in 1893. The stone of which it is built came from Waterfall, Wyoming. The architect was William M. Whidden. The corner stone was laid December 20, 1890, at which time Harvey W. Scott delivered an address. Construction of the City Hall was first authorized by the legislature in 1889, and a bond issue of $175,000 was provided therefor. In 1890 the city council began construction, but funds ran out when the foundations were only partly built. The plan was a very expensive one, and the city council was criticised for poor management. The plan is described in *The Oregonian*, June 25, 1890, p. 8. Contracts were let for the excavation August 5, 1890. In 1891 the legislature took the project away from the council and bestowed it upon a commission composed of Charles B. Bellinger, A. H. Breyman, William M. Ladd, J. J. Fisher, C. M. Forbes, H. J. Corbett, W. B. Ayer, and authorized $500,000 additional bonds. The old plan, involving a cost of $1,000,000, was discarded and the foundations were altered for a smaller building (*ibid.*, May 1, 1898, p. 10). For description of the new plans, *ibid.*, May 22, 1892, p. 13.

Land Fraud Prosecutions in Oregon

Prosecutions of land fraud offenders in Oregon in 1904–08, by Francis J. Heney, revolutionized political affairs of the state. It turned many holders of Federal office out of power and broke up the Mitchell faction, which had been dominant in Oregon during the larger part of thirty-five years. It convicted John H. Mitchell, United States senator, and J. N. Williamson, representative in Congress, and held under numerous indictments, during several years, Binger Hermann, representative in Congress, formerly com-

missioner of the General Land Office at Washington. It convicted John H. Hall, United States attorney for Oregon, and Henry Meldrum, surveyor-general for Oregon, and ousted W. F. Matthews from the office of United States marshal. It convicted F. P. Mays, Willard N. Jones, and W. W. Steiwer, members of the Oregon legislature, and indicted George C. Brownell (charges dropped) and Robert A. Booth (acquitted), also members of that body, and caused the defeat of United States Senator Charles W. Fulton in the Republican primaries in 1908. Many others were drawn into the prosecutions, and numerous convictions were obtained. This work of Francis J. Heney, as special prosecutor for the United States, ended a long régime of "land-grabbing" in the West. The Government carried on prosecutions in other Western states, but nowhere so vigorously as in Oregon.

The prosecutions were started by E. A. Hitchcock, who was secretary of the interior under Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt. The investigations which led up to the prosecutions began in the spring of 1902. Binger Hermann, of Oregon, then commissioner of the General Land Office, was forced out of office by Secretary Hitchcock, and was accounted responsible by Hitchcock for the "loose methods" that made frauds possible.

Hermann returned to Oregon, and was soon elected to Congress. This caused Hitchcock to direct the investigations at Hermann, with the result that Hermann was indicted in the United States courts at Washington, D. C., and at Portland, on numerous charges, in 1904–05. He was acquitted at Washington April 27, 1907, and the jury disagreed at Portland February 14, 1910. Senator John H. Mitchell was indicted on several charges in January and February, 1905, and was convicted July 3, 1905, of receiving fees contrary to law, for practice before the land department at Washington, in connection with land frauds. J. N. Williamson, representative in Congress, was convicted September 27, 1905. John H. Hall, United States attorney, was convicted February 8, 1908. Henry Meldrum, surveyor-general, was convicted November 17, 1904. F. P. Mays, member of the Oregon legislature, was convicted September 12, 1906. Willard N. Jones, also a member of the Oregon legislature, was convicted September 9, 1906. Both Jones and Mays were pardoned by President Taft. A. H. Tanner, law partner of Senator Mitchell, pleaded guilty of perjury, and was pardoned. Many others were indicted and numerous ones were convicted, including S. A. D. Puter, Horace McKinley and Emma Watson.

The investigations in Oregon began under A. R. Greene. For his statement of the purpose of the investigations, see *The Oregonian*, December 15, 1904. The frauds were first uncovered in the office of the surveyor-general of Oregon. For account of relations between Hermann and Hitchcock, *ibid.*, December 3, 4, 5, 6, 30, 1902. In October, 1903, Francis J. Heney was

appointed special assistant to the attorney-general, to conduct the prosecutions in Oregon. Heney arrived at Portland November 11, 1903. His appointment was protested by Senators John H. Mitchell and Charles W. Fulton. This was prior to the time that Mitchell was involved in the prosecutions. The two senators appealed to President Roosevelt against what they considered the arbitrary actions of Secretary Hitchcock, but without avail. Secretary Hitchcock decided on a complete renovation of the land offices in Oregon, and turned out the head officers at Roseburg, Lakeview and La Grande. Heney received, as fees from the Government, $65,000 (*The Oregonian*, February 28, 1909).

The chief clerk in the office of the Oregon surveyor-general — George E. Waggoner — was dismissed in February, 1903. United States commissioners removed by Judge Bellinger in April, 1903, were: H. W. Reed, J. W. Hamaker, J. O. Hamaker and Marie Ware. Max Whittlesey was removed from the Lakeview land office July 9, 1903. John H. Hall was removed, as United States attorney, December 31, 1904. For the causes, see *The Oregonian*, January 2, 1905, p. 43. Heney was appointed to succeed John H. Hall, as United States attorney, January 9, 1905. Walter F. Matthews was removed, as United States marshal, May 13, 1905, and Charles J. Reed was appointed. The register at Lakeview, E. M. Brattain, was dismissed; the register at La Grande, E. W. Bartlett, was dismissed in September, 1903 (dismissals from Oregon land offices, *ibid.*, September 6, 1903). The receiver at La Grande, Asa B. Thomson, was suspended in October, 1903, and ousted in January, 1904. He was indicted but acquitted.

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